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Thou gav'st me birth in happy freedom's land,
Where richest blessings equal laws defend.
Where Christ's pure word in native beauty shines,
Clears nature's mazes, and her laws refines;
Directs the path, and points the happy seat,
Where peace, and joy, and virtue are complete.

Full Moon 2d day, 11h. 58m. morn. | New Moon 17th day, 1h 45m. mor.
Last Quarter 10th day, 10h. 3m. morn. | First Quarter 24th day, at noon.
Full Moon 31st day, at midnight.

M	W	*Courts, Aspects, Weather, &c.*	r. ☉ s.	F. sea	☽ s pl.	r ☉ s
1	6	7*s rise 1h 21m *Foggy*	4 28 8	10 47	knees	3 28
2	7	Vis Virg Mary *mornings*	4 28 8	11 35		rises
3	B	Lord's day	4 29 8	morn	legs	8 43
4	2	INDEPENDENCE decl. 1776	4 29 8	23		9 27
5	3	C.P. Botton & Castine *Signs*	4 30 8	1 12	feet	10 4
6	4	♍ ♎ 23° ● apogee	4 30 8	1 58		10 35
7	5	Venus rises 3h 50m *of thunder*	4 31 8	2 44	head	11 2
8	6	Low tides *and*	4 31 8	3 29		11 32
9	7	- *showers*	4 32 8	4 15	neck	11 59
10	B	Lord's day Columb bo 1447	4 32 8	4 59	●	morn
11	2		4 33 8	5 47		19
12	3	☉ flow o'clock 5m	4 33 8	6 36	arms	55
13	4	*No small*	4 34 8	7 29		1 29
14	5	Bastile dest 1789 *appearances*	4 34 8	8 26	breast	2 10
15	6	☉ ● ☌'s ♂ ☿ gr elong. *of*	4 35 8	9 27		2 54
16	7	[Alli with Fr dissolved	4 35 8	10 32	heart	3 45
17	B	Lord's d very hi. tides ☉ ecl	4 36 8	11 35		sets
18	2	Mahomet died 634 ● perigee	4 37 8	36	belly	8 40
19	3	*sultry*	4 38 8	1 34		9 22
20	4	*weather*	4 39 8	2 29	reins	9 59
21	5	7*s rise at midnight	4 40 8	3 19		10 32
22	6	*and*	4 41 8	4 5		11 3
23	7	☉ enters ♌ *drought*	4 42 8	4 52	secrets	11 32
24	B	Lord's day	4 43 8	5 36		11 59
25	2	Dog days begin St. James	4 44 8	6 20	thighs	morn
26	3	Scorp H sets at midnight	4 45 8	7 7		24
27	4	♍ ♎ 22° Comm Burlington	4 46 8	7 53	knees	53
28	5	*Signs of thunder*	4 47 8	8 40		1 22
29	6	Tides rise *and*	4 48 8	9 18		2 4
30	7	7*s rise 11h 20m even	4 49 8	10 [illegible]	legs	2 41
31	B	Lord's day ☉ ● ☌ *rain*	4 50 8	11 [illegible]		rises

Henry Salter

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES & PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY CHARLES ROLLIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, &c.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

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BOOK XVIII.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

This chapter includes 24 years, during which Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned in Egypt. In this interval the Romans engage in war; first against Philip king of Macedon, over whom they gain a famous victory; and then against Antiochus king of Syria, who also is defeated and forced to sue for peace. At the same time feuds and divisions break out between the Lacedæmonians and the Achæans, and the famous Philopœmen dies.

SECTION VII.

POLYXANIDES DEFEATED BY LIVIUS.—L. SCIPIO CARRIES ON THE WAR AGAINST ANTIOCHUS, AND DEFEATS HIM NEAR MAGNESIA.

WHILST* the affairs I have just related passed in Greece, Antiochus lived easy and undisturbed in Ephesus; relying on the assurances of his flatterers and courtiers that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans, who, they declared, did not intend to cross into Asia. Hannibal was the only person capable of rousing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that instead of entertaining vain hopes, and suffering himself to be lulled asleep by irrational and improbable discourse, he might be assured that he would soon be forced to fight the Romans both by sea and land in Asia, and for Asia; and that he must resolve, either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it, sword in hand,

* A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41—45. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99, 100.

against enemies who aspired at no less than the conquest of the whole world.

The king then became sensible of the great danger he was in, and immediately sent orders to hasten the march of the eastern troops which were not yet arrived. He also fitted out a fleet, embarked and sailed to the Chersonesus. He there fortified Lysimachia, Sestus, Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing into Asia by the Hellespont; and this being done he returned to Ephesus.

Here it was resolved, in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in search of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which was just before arrived in the Ægean sea, and to attack it. They met near mount Corychus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides; but at last Polyxenides was beat, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ships were sunk, 13 taken, and he escaped with the rest to Ephesus. The Romans sailed into the harbour of Canna, in Ætolia, drew their ships ashore, and fortified with a good intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

* Antiochus, at the time this happened, was in Magnesia, assembling his land-forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coast, and resolved to equip another so powerful as might be able to preserve the empire of those seas. For this purpose he refitted such ships as had been brought off, reinforced them with new ones, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch those of Syria and Phœnicia. He also gave part of the army to Seleucus his son, whom he sent into Ætolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round; and marched in person with the rest into winter-quarters in Phrygia.

† During these transactions the Ætolian ambassadors arrived at Rome, where they pressed to be admitted to audience, because the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who was returned from Greece, employed all his credit in their favour. But he found the senate very much exasperated against the Ætolians. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as a people so very untractable, that it would be to no purpose to conclude an alliance with them. After several days debate, in

* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 100.
† Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1.

which they were neither allowed nor refused peace, two proposals were made to them, and left to their option: these were, either to submit entirely to the will of the senate, or to pay 1000* talents, and to acknowledge all those for their friends or enemies whom the Romans should consider as such. As the Ætolians desired to know particularly how far they were to submit to the will of the senate, no express answer was made them. They therefore withdrew without obtaining any thing, and were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

† The next year the Romans gave the command of the land-armies, which Acilius had before, to L. Cornelius Scipio, the new consul, under whom Scipio Africanus, his brother, had offered to serve as lieutenant. The senate and people of Rome were very desirous of trying which of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greatest service to the army in which he should fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. Æmilius Rhegillus.

The consul being arrived in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time in besieging one town after another; but, wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the Ætolians a six months truce, in order that they might have full time for sending a second embassy to Rome, he resolved to march his army through Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to cross over into Asia. However, he thought it advisable previously to inform himself how Philip might stand affected. This prince gave the army such a reception as might be expected from the most faithful and most zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furnished it all necessary refreshments and supplies, with a truly royal munificence. In the entertainments ‡ he made for the consul, his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he discovered an easy graceful air, and such a politeness as was very pleasing to Scipio Africanus; for this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generosity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praise which Livy gives Scipio in this place, is also very

* About 190,000l.

† A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190. Liv. l. xxxvii n. 1—7. Appian. in Syr. p. 99, 100.

‡ Multa in eo et dexteritas et humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; virum, sicut ad cætera egregium, ita a comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum. Liv.

"hold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts doth take away from Jeru-"salem, and from Judea, the stay and the staff, the whole stay "of bread, and the whole stay of water.——The mighty man, "and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the "prudent, and the ancient.——The captain of fifty, and the "honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artifi-"cer, and the eloquent orator." But a very remarkable circumstance is, that our pagan historian says here expressly, and repeats it twice, that "God * took away the king's judgment, "and overthrew his reason: a punishment," says he, "that al-"ways happens when men are upon the point of falling into "some great calamity." The expression is very strong: "God "overthrew the king's reason." He took from him, that is, he refused him sense, prudence, and judgment; he banished from his mind every salutary thought; he confused him, and made him even averse to all the good counsel that could be given him. This is what † David besought God to do with regard to Ahithophel, Absalom's minister: "O Lord, I pray thee, "turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness." The word in the Latin version is very strong, *infatua:* the import of which is, how prudent soever his counsels may be, make them appear foolish and stupid to Absalom; and they accordingly did appear so. "And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, "the "counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of "Ahithophel:—for the Lord had appointed to defeat the good "counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the Lord might "bring evil upon Absalom."

‡ The Romans being come into Asia, halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, and much after the same manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city seeing their posterity conquerors of the west and of Africa, and laying claim

* Θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἤδη τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐπὶ ἅμασι προσιόντων ἀτυχεμάτων, ἐπιγίγνεται.—ὃ μὴν τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας.

† Infatua, quæso, Domine, consilium, Ahithophel—Domini autem nutu dissipatum est consilium Ahithophel utile, *ut induceret dominus super Absalom malum.* 2 Reg. c. xv. et xvii. 14. "O Lord, I pray thee, "turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness, 2 Sam. c. xiv. 31. "For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, "*to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom.*" Chap. xvii. v. 1.

‡ Justin. l. xxxi. c. 8.

to Asia, as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors, imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendour than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted to see themselves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to contemplate its temples and deities which they had in common with that city.

When advice was brought Antiochus that the Romans had passed the Hellespont, he began to think himself undone. He now would have been very glad to deliver himself from a war in which he had engaged rashly, and without examining seriously all its consequences. This made him resolve to send an ambassador to the Romans to propose conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of the army, it having halted for several days that were the festival [illegible] Rome, in which the sacred shields, called ancilia, were carried in solemn procession with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the salii, or priests of Mars, whose office was to keep these shields, had not crossed the sea yet; for being one of the salii, he could not leave the place where the festival was solemnizing, so that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was that persons of so much religion were no better illuminated, and directed their worship to such improper objects! This delay gave the king some hopes; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would have attacked him on a sudden. Besides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, as his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now satiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation; especially as he had a present to make him which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, according to Livy.

Heraclides Byzantinus, who was the spokesman in this embassy, opened his speech with saying, that the very circumstance which had frustrated all the rest of the negociations for peace between his master and the Romans, now made him hope success in the present; because all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect were entirely removed: That the king, to put a stop to the complaints of his still keeping possession of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lysimachia: That as to Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Alexandria of Troas, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies, which they should demand

of him: That he would consent to refund the Romans half the expences of this war. He concluded with exhorting them to call to mind the uncertainty and vicissitude of human things, and not lay too great a stress on their present prosperity: That they ought to rest satisfied making Europe, whose extent was so immense, the boundaries of their empire: That if they were ambitious of joining some part of Asia to it, the king would acquiesce with their desire, provided that the limits of it were clearly settled.

The ambassador imagined that these proposals, which seemed so advantageous, could not be rejected: but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expences of the war, as the king had very unjustly been the occasion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole expence of it: They were not satisfied with his evacuating the garrisons he had in Ionia and Ætolia; but pretended to restore all Asia to its liberty, in the same manner as they had done Greece, which could not be effected unless the king abandoned all Asia on this side mount Taurus.

Heraclides not being able to obtain any thing in the public audience, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, particularly to conciliate Scipio Africanus. He began by assuring him that the king would send him his son without ransom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatness of soul, and the character of the Romans, he promised him a large sum of money; and assured him that he might entirely dispose of all things in his power, if he would mediate a peace for him. To those overtures Scipio made the following answer: "I am not surprised to find you unacquainted both with me and the Romans, as you do not even know the condition of the prince who sent you hither. If, as you assert, the uncertainty of the fate of arms should prompt us to grant you peace upon easier terms, your sovereign ought to have kept possession of Lysimachia, in order to have shut us out of the Chersonesus; or else he ought to have met us in the Hellespont, to have disputed our passage into Asia with us. But, by abandoning them to us, he put the yoke on his own neck; so that all he now has to do is, to submit to whatever conditions we shall think fit to prescribe. Among the several offers he makes me, I cannot but be strongly affected with that which relates to the giving me back my son: I hope the rest will not have the power to tempt me. As a private man I can promise to preserve eternally the deepest sense of gratitude for so precious a gift as he offers me in my

" son; but as a public one, he must expect nothing from me. " Go, therefore, and tell him, in my name, that the best coun- " sel I can give him is to lay down his arms, and not reject " any articles of peace which may be proposed to him. This is " the best advice I could give him as a good and faithful friend."

Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have prescribed harder conditions had they conquered him; and such a peace appeared to him as fatal as the most unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did also on their side.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he sent his son to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and restored both joy and health to a sick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms, "go," says he to the envoys, " and thank the king from me, and tell him, that at present " the only testimony I can give him of my gratitude is to ad- " vise him not to fight, till he hears of my being arrived in the " camp." Perhaps Scipio thought that a delay of some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a solid peace.

Although the superiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle immediately, nevertheless the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he considered as his last refuge in case any calamitous accident should befal him, prevailed over the former consideration. He passed the river Phrygius (it is thought to be the Hermus,) and posted himself near Magnesia, at the foot of mount Sipylus, where he fortified his camp so strongly as not to fear being attacked in it.

The consul followed soon after. The armies continued several days in sight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army consisted of 70,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 54 elephants: that of the Romans was composed, in the whole of but 30,000 men, and 16 elephants. The consul, finding that the king lay still, summoned his council to debate on what was to be done, in case he should persist in refusing to venture a battle. He represented, that as the winter was at hand, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the soldiers to keep the field; or if they should go into winter-quarters, to discontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never shewed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion: they all cried aloud that it would be proper

to march immediately against the enemy; to take the advantage of the ardour of the troops, who were ready to force the palisades, and pass the intrenchments, to attack the enemy in their camp, in case they would not quit it. There is some probability that the consul was desirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, since his presence only would have diminished the glory of his success.

The next day the consul, after viewing the situation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it in order of battlee The king, fearing that a longer delay would lessen the courage of his own soldiers and animate the enemy, at last marched out with his troops, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the consul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, of 5400 men each, and two such bodies of Latin infantry. The Romans were posted in the centre, and the Latins in the two wings, the left of which extended towards the river. The first line of the centre was composed of * pikemen, or hastati, the second of principes, and the third of triarii: these, properly speaking, composed the main body. On the side of the right wing, to cover and sustain it, the consul had posted on the same line 3000 Achæan infantry, and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, 3000 horse, 800 of which belonged to Eumenes, and the rest to the Romans. He posted at the extremity of this wing the light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought necessary to strengthen the left wing in this manner, because the rivers and banks, which were very steep, seemed a sufficient rampart. Nevertheless, four squadrons of horse were posted there. To guard the camp, they left 2000 Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers. The 16 elephants were posted behind the Triarii, by way of corps de-reserve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were greatly superior in number, but because the African elephants, all those in the Roman camp being of that country, were very much inferior both in size and strength to those of India, and therefore were not able to oppose them.

The king's army was more varied, on account of the different nations which composed it, and the disparity of their arms: 16,000 foot, armed after the Macedonian fashion, and who composed the phalanx, formed also the main body. This phalanx

* These are the names of the three different bodies of troops of which the infantry of the Roman legions consisted.

was divided into ten bodies, each of 50 men in front by 32 deep; and two elephants were posted in each of the intervals which separated them. It was this formed the principal strength of the army. The sight only of the elephants inspired terror. Their size which in itself was very remarkable, was increased by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers, which were embellished with gold, silver, purple, and ivory; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of spoils, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs in which were four fighting men, besides the leader or guide. To the right of this phalanx was drawn up in a column, part of the cavalry, 1500 Asiatic Gauls, 3000 cuirassiers armed cap-a-pee, and 1000 horse, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of 16 elephants were posted next in files. A little beyond was the king's regiment, composed of the Argyraspides, so called from their arms being of silver. After them 1200 Daliæ, all bowmen; to whom 2500 Mysians were joined. Then 3000 light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was closed by 4000 slingers and archers, half Cyrtæans and half Elymeans. The left wing was drawn up much after the same manner, except that before part of the cavalry the chariots armed with scythes were posted, with the camels, mounted by Arabian bowmen, whose thin swords, in order that the riders might reach down from the back of these beasts, were six feet long. The king commanded the right; Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew, the left: and three lieutenant-generals the main body.

A thick fog rising in the morning, the sky grew so dark that it was not possible for the king's soldiers to distinguish one another, and act in concert, on account of their great extent; and the damp occasioned by this fog softened very much the bow-strings, the slings, and thongs or straps*, which were used for throwing javelins. The Romans did not suffer near so much, because they scarce used any but heavy arms, swords, and javelins: and as the front of their army was of less extent, they could the easier see one another.

The chariots armed with scythes, which Antiochus had flattered himself would terrify the enemy, and throw them into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed to them the Cretan archers, the slingers, and horse who discharge javelins, commanding them to charge them not

* Amenta.

in a body, but in small platoons, and to pour on them from every quarter, darts, stones, and javelins, shouting as loud as possible all the while. The horses, frightened at these shouts, run away with the chariots, scour the field on all sides, and turn against their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this soon proved the destruction of the king's army; for the troops which were posted near these chariots, having been broke and put to flight by their disorder, left every part naked and defenceless, even to the very cuirassiers. The Roman cavalry vigorously charging the latter, it was not possible for them to stand the attack, so that they were broke immediately, many of them being killed on the spot, because the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which spread an alarm to the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into disorder. And now the Roman legions charged it advantageously; the soldiers who composed the phalanx not having an opportunity to use their long pikes, because those who fled had taken refuge amongst them, and prevented their fighting, whilst the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no service to it. The Roman soldiers, who had been used to fight in the wars of Africa against those animals, had learned how to avoid their impetuosity, either by piercing their sides with their javelins, or by ham-stringing them with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were therefore put into disorder; and the Romans were upon the point of surrounding the rear ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four squadrons of horse had been posted near it, as supposing it to be sufficiently defended by the river, had charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy armed horse, not only in front but in flank; because that the four squadrons being unable to withstand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into disorder, the infantry soon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had staid to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardice and ignominious flight. But this was not all; for he commanded his soldiers to sheath their swords in all they met, who refused

to face about against the enemy. This order being given so seasonably, and immediately put in execution, had the desired effect. The stronger fear prevailed over the less. Those who were flying, first halt, and afterwards return to the battle; and now Æmilius, with his body of troops, which consisted of 2000 brave well disciplined men, opposes the king, who was pursuing vigorously those who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very seasonably with 200 horse. Antiochus, being now charged on every side, turned his horse, and retired. Thus the Romans, having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of slain, as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

It was observed, that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx, was one of the causes of his losing the battle. In this body the chief strength of his army consisted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was composed entirely of veteran, stout, and well disciplined soldiers. To enable his phalanx to do him greater service, he ought to have given it less depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up 32 deep, half of them were of no use; and the rest of the front was filled up with new-raised troops, without courage or experience, who consequently could not be depended on. However, this was the order in which Philip and Alexander used to draw up their phalanx.

There fell this day, as well in the battle as in the pursuit and the plunder of the camp, 50,000 foot, and 4000 horse: 1400 were taken prisoners, with 15 elephants, with their guides. The Romans lost but 300 foot, and 24 horse; 25 of Eumenes's troops were killed. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Asia Minor, which now submitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had escaped the slaughter as he could assemble. From that city he marched to Celænæ in Phrygia, whither he heard that his son Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both passed mount Taurus with the utmost diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in the battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

* The instant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he sent An-

* Liv. l. xxvii. n. 45—49. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. p. 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 110—113.

tipater his brother's son, Xeuxis, who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to sue for peace. They found the consul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother, who was recovered. They applied themselves to the latter, who presented them to the consul. They did not endeavour to excuse Antiochus in any manner; and only sued humbly in his name for peace. "You have always," said he to them, "pardoned with greatness of mind the kings and nations "you have conquered. How much more should you be indu- "ced to do this, after a victory which gives you the empire of "the universe! Henceforward, being become equal to the "gods, lay aside all animosity against mortals, and make the "good of the human race your sole study for the future."

The council was summoned upon this embassy, and after having seriously examined the affair, the ambassadors were called in. Scipio Africanus spoke, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. He said, that as the Romans did not suffer themselves to be depressed by adversity, on the other side they were never too elate from prosperity: that therefore they would not insist upon any other demands than those they had made before the battle: that Antiochus should evacuate all Asia on this side mount Taurus: that he should pay all the expences of the war, which were computed at 15,000 * Eubœan talents, and the payments were settled as follow: 500 talents down; 2500 when the senate should have ratified the treaty, and the rest in 12 years, 1000 talents every year: that he should pay Eumenes the 400 talents he owed him, and the residue of a payment, on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furnished the king of Syria; and that he should deliver 20 hostages, to be chosen by the Romans. He added, "The Romans cannot persuade themselves, that "a prince who gives Hannibal refuge, is sincerely desirous of "peace. They therefore demanded that Hannibal be deliver- "ed up to them, as also Thoas, the Ætolian, who was the "chief agent in fomenting this war." All these conditions were accepted.

L. Cotta was sent to Rome with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of this negociation, and to obtain their ratification of it. Eumenes set out at the same time for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia went also. Soon after the 500 talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the

* 15,000 Attic talents amount to about 2,250,000l. Sterling. Those of Eubœa, according to Budæus, were something less.

payment; and to secure the other articles of the treaty, Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included in the hostages. He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negociating, concluding that they should be sacrificed by it, they provided for their own safety, by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation. To succeed the better, they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome, by a knavish artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been seized and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true (and they declared impudently that it was so), they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace rather than sue for it. This showed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended at them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the consul soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

* The Romans had just before raised M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso to the consulate. In the division of the provinces, Ætolia fell by lot to Fulvius, and Asia to Manlius.

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were appointed, by way of thanksgiving, for three days.

After this religious solemnity was over, the senate immediately gave audience, first to Eumenes, and afterwards to the ambassadors. At this audience one of the most important affairs that had ever been brought before the senate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Asia, was to be considered. It is well known that liberty in general is precious and dear to all men. But the Greeks in particular were inexpressibly jealous of theirs. They considered it as an estate of inheritance which had devolved to them from their ancestors, and as a peculiar privilege that distinguished them from all other nations;

* A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv l. xxxvii. n. 47—50. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 52—59. Polyb. in excerpt. Legat. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

" was not possible for me to exceed him in zeal and attachment " to your service; but then the posture of affairs, and the war " against Antiochus, have furnished me more opportunities than " my father had, of giving you proofs of this. That prince, " who was very powerful in Europe as well as Asia offered me " his daughter in marriage: he engaged himself to recover all " those cities which had revolted from me: he promised to add " considerable countries to my dominions, upon condition that " I should join with him against you. I will not assume any " honour to myself for not accepting offers which tended to " alienate me from your friendship; and indeed how would it " have been possible for me to do this? I will only take notice " of what I thought myself bound to do in your favour, as one " who was your ancient friend and ally. I assisted your ge- " nerals both by sea and land, with a far greater number of " troops, as well as a much larger quantity of provisions, than " any of your allies: I was present in all your naval engage- " ments, and these were many; and have spared myself no toils " nor dangers. I suffered the hardships of a siege, the most " grievous condition of war, and was blocked up in Pergamus, " exposed every moment to the loss of my crown and life. Hav- " ing disengaged myself from this siege, whilst Antiochus on " one side, and Seleucus his son on the other, were still encamp- " ed in my dominions; neglecting entirely my own interest, I " sailed with my whole fleet to the Hellespont, to meet Scipio " your consul, purposely to assist him in passing it. I never " quitted the consul from his arrival in Asia: not a soldier in " your camp has exerted himself more than my brother and " myself. I have been present in every action whether of foot " or horse. In the last engagement, I defended the post which " the consul assigned me. I will not ask whether, in this par- " ticular, any of your allies deserved to be compared with me. " One thing I will be so confident as to assert, that I may put " myself in parallel with any of those kings or states on whom " you have bestowed the highest marks of your favour. Ma- " sinissa had been your enemy before he became your ally. He " did not come over to you with powerful aids, and at a time " when he enjoyed the full possession of his kingdom; but an " exile, driven from his kingdom, plundered of all his posses- " sions, and deprived of all his forces, he fled to your camp, " with a squadron of horse, in order to seek an asylum as " well as aid in his misfortunes. Nevertheless because he has " since served you faithfully against Syphax and the Cartha- " ginians, you have not only restored him to the throne of his

" ancestors, but, by bestowing on him great part of Syphax's " kingdom, you have made him one of the most powerful mo- " narchs of Africa. What therefore may we not expect from " your liberality; we, who have ever been your allies, and " never your enemies? My father, my brothers, and myself, " have, on all occasions, drawn our sword in your cause, both " by sea and land; not only in Asia, but at a great distance " from our native country, in Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and Æto- " lia, during the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and the Æto- " lians. Perhaps some one may ask, what are your preten- " sions? Since you force me to explain myself, they are as " follow: If, in repulsing Antiochus beyond mount Taurus, " your intention was to seize upon that country, in order to " unite it to your empire, I could not wish for better neigh- " bours, none being more able to secure my dominions. But " if you are resolved to resign it, and to recal your armies " from thence, I dare presume to say, that none of your allies " deserve advantages from you better than myself. Yet, some " may observe, it is great and glorious to deliver cities from " slavery, and to restore them their liberty: I grant it, pro- " vided they had never exercised hostilities against you. But " then, if they have been so far attached to Antiochus's inte- " rest, will it not be much more worthy of your wisdom and " justice to bestow your favours on allies who have served you " faithfully, than on enemies who have used their endeavours " to destroy you?"

The senate was exceedingly pleased with the king's ha- rangue; and showed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The person who spoke in their name, after repeating the origin of their amity with the Romans, and the services they had done them, first in the war against Philip, and afterwards in that against Antiochus: " Nothing," says he, directing himself to the senators, " grieves us so much at this time, as to find our- " selves obliged to engage in a dispute with Eumenes, that " prince, for whom, of all princes, both our republic and our- " selves have the most faithful and most cordial respect. The " circumstance which divides and separates us on this occasion, " does not proceed from a disparity of minds, but from a dif- " ference of conditions. We are free, and Eumenes is a king. " It is natural that we, being a free people, should plead for " the liberty of others; and that kings should endeavour to " make all things pay homage to their sovereign sway. How- " ever this be, the circumstance which perplexes us on this

" occasion, is, not so much the affair in itself, which seems to " be of such a nature, that you cannot be very much divided " in opinion about it, as the regard we ought to shew to so au- " gust a prince as Eumenes. If there was no other way of ac- " knowledging the important services of a king, your confe- " derate and ally, but in subjecting free cities to his power, " you then might be doubtful; from the fear you might be un- " der, either of not discovering gratitude enough towards a " prince who is your friend, or of renouncing your principles, " and the glory you have acquired in the war against Philip, " by restoring all the Grecian cities to their liberty. But for- " tune has put you in such a condition as not to fear either of " those inconveniencies. The immortal gods be praised, the " victory you have so lately gained, by which you acquire no " less riches than glory, enables you to acquit yourselves easily " of what you call a debt. Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all " Pisidia, Chersonesus, and the country contiguous to it, are " subjected by you. One of these provinces is alone capable " of enlarging considerably the dominions of Eumenes; but all " of them together will equal him to the most powerful kings. " You therefore may, at one and the same time, recompense " very largely your allies, and not depart from the maxims " which form the glory of your empire. The same motive " prompted you to march against Philip and Antiochus. As " the cause is the same, the like issue is expected; not only " because you yourselves have already set the example, but " because your honour requires it. Others engage in war mere- " ly to dispossess their neighbours of some country, some city, " fortress, or sea-port; but you, O Romans, never drew the " sword from such motives; when you fight, it is for glory; " and it is this circumstance inspires all nations with a reve- " rence and awe for your name and empire, almost equal to that " which is paid to the gods. The business is to preserve that " glory. You have undertaken to rescue, from the bondage " of kings, and to restore to its ancient liberty, a nation famous " for its antiquity, and still more renowned for its glorious ac- " tions, and its exquisite taste for the polite arts and sciences. " It is the whole nation you have taken under your protection, " and you have promised it to them to the end of time. The " cities situated in Greece itself are not more Grecian than " the colonies they settled in Asia. A change of country has " not wrought any alteration in our origin or manners. All the " Greek cities in Asia have endeavoured to rival our ancestors " and founders in virtue and in knowledge. Many persons " in this assembly have seen the cities of Greece and Asia: the

" only difference is, that we are situated at a farther distance " from Rome. If a difference in climate should change the na- " ture and disposition of men, the inhabitants of Marseilles, " surrounded as they are with ignorant and barbarous nations, " should necessarily have long since degenerated; and yet we " are informed that you have as great a regard for them, as if " they lived in the centre of Greece. And indeed, they have " retained, not only the sound of the language, the dress, and " the whole exterior of the Greeks, but have also preserved " still more their manners, laws, and genius, and all these pure " and uncorrupted by their correspondence with the neigh- " bouring nations. Mount Taurus is now the boundary of your " empire. Every country on this side of it ought not to appear " remote from you. Wherever you have carried your arms, " convey thither also the genius and form of your government. " Let the barbarians who are accustomed to slavery, continue " under the empire of kings, since it is grateful to them. The " Greeks in the mediocrity of their present condition, think " it glorious to imitate your exalted sentiments. Born and " nurtured in liberty, they know you will not deem it a crime " in them to be jealous of it, as you yourselves are so. For- " merly, their own strength was sufficient to secure empire to " them; but now they implore the Gods that it may be enjoy- " ed for ever by those people with whom they have placed it. " All they desire is, that you would be pleased to protect, " by the power of your arms, their liberties, as they are no " longer able to defend them by their own. But, says some- " body, some of these cities have favoured Antiochus. Had " not the others favoured Philip also; and the Tarentines, " Pyrrhus? to cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy as " well as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Consider, O Ro- " mans, the engagements which this example lays you under. " Will you indulge to Eumenes' ambition (I beg his pardon for " the expression), what you refused to your own just indigna- " tion? As for us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the wars " which you have carried on in our countries, we have endea- " voured to behave as good and faithful allies; and you are to " judge whether we have really been such. Now we enjoy " peace, we are so free as to give you a counsel which must " necessarily be glorious to you. If you follow it, it will demon- " strate to the universe, that however nobly you obtain victo- " ries, you yet know how to make a nobler use of them."

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech, and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur. The senate

found itself on this occasion divided and opposed by different sentiments and duties, of whose importance and justice they were sensible, but which at the same time it was difficult to reconcile on this occasion. On one side, gratitude with regard to the services of a king, who had adhered to them with inviolable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on their minds: on the other, they earnestly wished to have it thought, that the sole view of their undertaking this war was, to restore the Grecian cities to their liberty. It must be confessed, that the motives on both sides were exceedingly strong. The restoring of every part of Greece to its liberties and laws, after Philip's defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But then it would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as Eumenes; and it was the interest of the Romans to bring over other kings to their side, by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wisdom of the senate knew how to conciliate these different duties.

Antiochus's ambassadors were brought in after those of Rhodes, and all they requested of the senate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their desire, and accordingly some days after, it also was ratified in the assembly of the people.

The ambassadors of the Asiatic cities were likewise heard, and the answer made them was, that the senate would dispatch, pursuant to their usual custom, ten commissioners to inquire into, and settle the affairs of Asia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia, should thenceforward be subject to king Eumenes. The Rhodians were allotted the possession of Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies nearest to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia. In both these distributions, such cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom, before the battle fought against Antiochus. It was enacted that the rest of the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, should also pay it to Eumenes; and that such as had been tributaries to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this new regulation. The latter requested as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soles, a city of Cilicia, descended originally, as well as themselves, from the people of Argos, might be restored to their liberty. The senate, after consulting Antiochus's ambassadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent opposition which those ambassadors had made to their request; because Soles, as situated beyond mount Taurus, was not in-

cluded in the treaty: however, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to overcome their repugnance. The Rhodians, returning their most hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchsafed them, answered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly satisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Rhegillus, who had gained a victory at sea over the admiral of Antiochus's fleet, and still more justly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in person. He assumed the surname of Asiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to those of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war against Antiochus, which was not of long duration, cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to the aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the same time, this victory contributed also, in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the wealth it brought into it, a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that Pliny * dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republic of Rome, and the fatal changes which ensued in it. Asia,† vanquished by the Roman arms, afterwards vanquished Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguished in that city a love for the ancient poverty and simplicity, in which its strength and honour consisted. Luxury,‡ that in a manner entered Rome in triumph with the superb spoils of Asia, brought with her in her train irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havoc in the city than the mightiest armies could have done, and in that manner avenged the conquered globe.

* Plin. l. xiii. c. 3.

† Armis vicit, vitiis victus est. SENEC. de ALEX.

‡ Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores
Intulit, et turpi fregerunt secula luxu
Divitiæ molles——
Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit——
Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.
JUVEN. l. ii. SATYR. 6.

Reflections on the conduct of the Romans respecting the Grecian States, and the Kings of Europe and Asia.

THE reader begins to discover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteristics of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and produce an almost general change in the universe, I mean a spirit of sovereignty and dominion. This characteristic does not display itself at first in its full extent; it reveals itself only by degrees; and it is but by insensible progressions, which at the same time are rapid enough, that we see it carried at last to its greatest height.

It must be confessed, that this people, on certain occasions, show such a moderation and disinterestedness, as, to consider them only from their outside, exceed every thing we meet with in history, and to which it seems inconsistent to refuse praise. Was there ever a more delightful or more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war, after crossing seas, and exhausting their treasures, caused a herald to proclaim, in a general assembly, that the Roman people restored all the cities to their liberty, and desired to reap no other fruit by their victory, than the noble pleasure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whose ancient glory sufficed to endear them to the Romans? The description of that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthusiasm of esteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian states proceeded merely from a principle of generosity, void of all interested motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans been of the same nature with such exalted sentiments; nothing could possibly have been more august, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But if we penetrate ever so little beyond this glaring outside, we soon perceive that this specious moderation of the Romans, was entirely founded on a profound policy; wise, indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but at the same time very remote from that noble disinterestedness so highly extolled on the present occasion. It may be affirmed that the Grecians then abandoned themselves to a stupid joy; fondly imagining that they were really free, because the Romans declared them so.

Greece, in the times I am now speaking of, was divided between two powers; I mean the Grecian republics, and Macedonia; and they were always engaged in war; the former to

preserve the remains of their ancient liberty; and the latter to complete their subjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this state of Greece, were sensible that they needed not be under any apprehensions from those little republics, which were grown weak through length of years, by intestine feuds, mutual jealousies, and the wars they had been forced to support against foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was possessed of well disciplined troops, inured to all the toils of war; which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs; which had formerly extended its conquests to the extremities of the globe; which still harboured an ardent, though chimerical desire of attaining universal empire; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, sprung from the same origin, and united by the common interests of monarchy: Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which, from the ruin of Carthage, had no obstacles left with regard to their ambitious designs, but those powerful kingdoms that shared the rest of the world between them, and especially Macedonia, as it lay nearest to Italy.

To balance therefore the power of Macedon, and to dispossess Philip of the aids he flattered himself he should receive from the Greeks, which indeed had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppose this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans; in this view, I say, this latter people declared loudly in favour of those republics; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other design, in outward appearance, than to defend them against their oppressors; and further to attach them by a still stronger tie, they hung out to them a specious bait, as a reward for their fidelity, I mean liberty, of which all the republics in question were inexpressibly jealous, and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually disputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and swallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whose views penetrated no farther: but the most judicious and most clear-sighted among them, discovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait: and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time, in their public assemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the west; and which, changing on a sudden into a dreadful tempest, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter destruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct

of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmost moderation towards such states and nations as addressed them for protection: they succoured them against their enemies; took the utmost pains in terminating their differences, and in suppressing all troubles which arose amongst them; and did not demand the least recompence for all these services done their allies. By these means their authority gained strength daily, and prepared the nations for entire subjection.

And, indeed, upon pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of reconciling them, they rendered themselves the sovereign arbiters of those whom they had restored to liberty, and whom they now considered, in some measure, as their freedmen. They used to depute commissioners to them, to enquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reasons on both sides, and to decide their quarrels: but when the articles were of such a nature that there was no possibility of reconciling them on the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. But afterwards they used to summon those who refused to be reconciled, obliged them to plead their cause before the senate, and even to appear in person there. From arbiters and mediators, being become supreme judges, they soon assumed a magisterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were greatly offended when the most implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a second resistance: thus there arose in the Roman senate a tribunal which judged all nations and kings, from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and punishments due to all parties. They dispossessed the vanquished nations of part of their territories, in order to bestow them on their allies, by which they did two things from which they reaped a double advantage; for they thereby engaged in the interest of Rome such kings as were no ways formidable to them; and weakened others, whose friendship the Romans could not expect, and whose arms they had reason to dread.

We shall hear one of the chief magistrates in the republic of the Achæans inveigh strongly in a public assembly against this unjust usurpation, and ask by what title the Romans are empowered to assume so haughty an ascendant over them; whether their republic was not as free and independent as that of Rome; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct; whether they would be pleased, should the Achæans, in their turn, officiously pretend to inquire into their affairs; and whether matters ought not to

be on the same foot on both sides? All these reflections were very reasonable, just, and unanswerable; and the Romans had no advantage in the question but force.

They acted in the same manner, and their politics were the same with regard to their treatment of kings. They first won over to their interest such among them as were the weakest, and consequently the least formidable: they gave them the title of allies, whereby their persons were rendered in some measure sacred and inviolable; and was a kind of safeguard against other kings more powerful than themselves: they increased their revenues, and enlarged their territories, to let them see what they might expect from their protection. It was this raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so exalted a pitch of grandeur.

After this the Romans invaded, upon different pretences, those great potentates who divided Europe and Asia. And how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his answer before he quitted it: how imperious was this! But then, how did they treat vanquished kings? They command them to deliver up their children, and the heirs to their crown, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; oblige them to lay down their arms; forbid them to declare war, or to conclude any alliance, without first obtaining their leave; banish them to to the other side of the mountains; and leave them (in strictness of speech) only an empty title, and a vain shadow of royalty, divested of all its rights and advantages.

We are not to doubt but that providence had decreed to the Romans the sovereignty of the world, and the scriptures had prophesied their future grandeur: but they were strangers to those divine oracles; and besides, the bare prediction of their conquests was no justification with regard to them. Although it be difficult to affirm, and still more so to prove, that this people had from their first rise formed a plan, in order to conquer and subject all nations; it cannot be denied but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear that they acted as if they had had a foreknowledge of this; and that a kind of instinct determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we see, by the event, to what this so much-boasted lenity and moderation of the Romans was confined. Enemies to the liberty of all nations; having the utmost contempt for kings and monarchy; looking upon the whole universe as their prey, they grasped with unsatiable am-

bition, the conquest of the whole world: they seized indiscriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations; in a word they prescribed no other limits to their vast projects, but those which deserts and seas made it impossible to pass.

SECTION VIII.

ÆTOLIANS AND ASIATIC GAULS SUBDUED BY FULVIUS AND MANLIUS.—DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS, AND DANIEL'S PROPHECY.

DURING the expedition of the Romans in Asia*, some commotions had happened in Greece. Amynander, by the aid of the Ætolians, was restored to his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garrisons that held them for king Philip. He deputed some ambassadors to the senate of Rome, and others into Asia to the two Scipios, who were then at Ephesus, after their signal victory over Antiochus, to excuse his having employed the arms of the Ætolians against Philip, and also to make his complaints of that prince.

The Ætolians had likewise undertaken some enterprises against Philip, in which they had met with tolerable success: but when they heard of Antiochus's defeat, and found that the ambassadors they had sent to Rome were returning from thence without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the consul was actually marching against them, they were seized with real alarms. Finding it would be impossible for them to resist the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourse to entreaties; and, in order to enforce them, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambassadors to those whom they were going to send to Rome, in order to sue for peace.

The consul being arrived in Greece, he, in conjunction with the Epirots, had laid siege to Ambracia, in which was a strong garrison of Ætolians, who had made a vigorous defence. However, being at last persuaded that it would be impossible for them to hold out long against the Roman arms, they sent new ambassadors to the consul, investing them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Those which were proposed to them being judged exceedingly severe, the ambassa-

* A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 1—11. Polyb. in Excerpt. Leg. c. 26—28.

dors, notwithstanding their full powers, desired that leave might be granted them to consult the assembly once more; but the members of it were displeased with them for it, and therefore sent them back, with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors, whom the senate had sent back to the consul, were come to him, to whom Amynander had also repaired. The latter having great credit in the city of Ambracia, where he had spent many years of his banishment, prevailed with the inhabitants to surrender themselves at last to the consul. A peace was also granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follow: They should first deliver up their arms and horses to the Romans: should pay them 1000 talents of silver (about 150,000*l.* sterling), half to be paid down directly: should restore to both the Romans and their allies all the deserters and prisoners: should look upon, as their enemies and friends, all those who were such to the Romans: in fine, should give up 40 hostages, to be chosen by the consul. Their ambassadors being arrived in Rome, to ratify the treaty there, they found the people highly exasperated against the Ætolians, as well on account of their past conduct, as the complaints made against them by Philip, in his letters written on that head. At last, however, the senate were moved by their entreaties, and those of the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes, who concurred in them, and therefore they ratified the treaty conformable to the conditions which the consul had prescribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the sum imposed on them, in such a manner that every piece of gold should be estimated at ten times the value of ten pieces of silver of the same weight, which shows the proportion between gold and silver at that time.

* Fulvius the consul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, crossed into the island of Cephalenia, in order to subdue it. All the cities, at the first summons, surrendered immediately. The inhabitants of Same only, after submitting to the conqueror, were sorry for what they had done, and accordingly shut their gates against the Romans, which obliged them to besiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, insomuch that it was four months before the consul could take it.

From thence he went to Peloponnesus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

* Liv. l. xxviii. n. 28—30.

The general assembly of the Achæans had from time immemorial been held at Ægium: but Philopœmen, who then was an officer of state, resolved to change that custom, and to cause the assembly to be held successively in all the cities which formed the Achæan league; and that very year he summoned it to Argos. The consul would not oppose this motion; and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, because he thought their cause the most just, yet, seeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion.

* But the affair relating to Sparta was still more intricate, and at the same time of greater importance. Those who had been banished from that city by Nabis, the tyrant, had fortified themselves in towns and castles along the coast, and from thence infested the Spartans. The latter had attacked, in the night, one of those towns called Las, and carried it, but were soon after driven out of it. This enterprise alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourse to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who at that time was in employment, secretly favoured the exiles, and endeavoured, on all occasions, to lessen the credit and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans, having put the towns and castles of the sea-coast of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbidden the Lacedæmonians access to it; and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed some of the inhabitants; the Achæan assembly demanded that the contrivers of that massacre should be delivered up to them; and that otherwise they should be declared violaters of the treaty. Ambassadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand made in so haughty a tone, exceedingly exasperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death 30 of those who had held a correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles, dissolved their alliance with the Achæans, and sent ambassadors to Fulvius the consul, who was then in Cephalenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to entreat him to come and take possession of it. When the Achæans received advice of what had been transacted in Sparta they unanimously declared war against that city, which began by some slight incursions both by sea and land; the season being too far advanced for undertaking any thing considerable.

The consul being arrived in Peloponnesus, heard both parties

* Ibid. n. 30—34.

in a public assembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and carried to a great height on both sides. Without coming to any determination, the first thing he did was, to command them to lay down their arms, and send their respective ambassadors to Rome; and accordingly they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The league with the Achæans was in great consideration at Rome, but, at the same time, the Romans did not care to disgust the Lacedæmonians entirely. The senate therefore returned an obscure and ambiguous answer, which has not come down to us, whereby the Achæans might flatter themselves that they were allowed full power to infest Sparta; and the Spartans, that such power was very much limited and restrained.

The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of first magistrate. He marched the army to a small distance from Sparta without loss of time, and again demanded to have those persons surrendered to him who had concerted the enterprise against the town of Las; declaring that they should not be condemned or punished till after being heard. Upon this promise, those who had been nominated expressly set out, accompanied by several of the most illustrious citizens, who looked upon their cause as their own, or rather as that of the public. Being arrived at the camp of the Achæans, they were greatly surprised to see the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to them with an insulting air, and began to vent the most injurious expressions against them: after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them very ignominiously. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claimed the right of nations; the rabble of the Achæans, animated by the seditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithstanding the protection due to ambassadors, and in spite of the prohibition of the supreme magistrate, 17 were immediately stoned to death, and 73 rescued by the magistrate out of the hands of those furious wretches. It was not that he intended, in any manner, to pardon them; but he would not have it said that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day, they were brought before that enraged multitude, who, almost without so much as hearing them, condemned and executed them all.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so unjust, so cruel a treatment, threw the Spartans into the deepest affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achæans imposed the same con-

ditions upon them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by storm. They gave orders that the walls should be demolished; that all such mercenaries as the tyrants had kept in their service, should leave Laconia; that the slaves whom those tyrants had set at liberty (and there were a great number of them,) should also be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being seized by the Achæans, and sold or carried wheresoever they thought proper; that the laws and institutions of Lycurgus should be annulled In fine, that the Spartans should be associated in the Achæan league, with whom they should thenceforth form but one body, and follow the same customs and usages.

The Lacedæmonians were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls; with which they began the execution of the orders prescribed them; and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. *Sparta had long subsisted without any other walls or defence but the bravery of its citizens. † Pausanias informs us, that the walls of Sparta were begun to be ‡ built in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Pyrrhus; but that they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates also, that the tyrants for their own security, had fortified with walls all such parts of the city as were most open and accessible. The Spartans were therefore not much grieved at the demolition of these walls. But it was with inexpressible regret they saw the exiles, who had caused its destruction, returning into it, and who might justly be considered as its most cruel enemies. Sparta enervated by this last blow, lost all its pristine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and subjected to the Achæans. ‖ The most fatal circumstance with regard to Sparta was, the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force 700 years, and had been the source of all its grandeur and glory.

* Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque objecerant murum; altiora loca et difficiliora aditu stationibus armatorum pro munimento objectis tutabantur. Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 38.

Spartani urbem, quam semper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum et veterem majorum gloriam, armis diffisi, murorum præsidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse a majoribus, ut cum multis seculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra muros laterent. Justin. l. xiv. c. 5.

† In Achaiac. p. 412.

‡ Justin informs us that Sparta was fortified with walls at the time that Cassander meditated the invasion of Greece.

‖ Nulla res tanto erat damno, quam disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos assueverant, sublata. Liv.

This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta does Philopœmen no honour, but, on the contrary, seems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest captains of Greece, does but just glance at this action, and says only a word or two of it. It must indeed be confessed, that the cause of the exiles was favourable in itself. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged; and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants; but so open a violation of the laws of nations, to which Philopœmen gave at least occasion, if he did not consent to it, cannot be excused in any manner.

* It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome against Philopœmen, as having, by this equally unjust and cruel action, defied the power of the republic of Rome, and insulted its majesty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. At last, † Lepidus the consul wrote a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. However, Philopœmen and the Achæans sent an ambassador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to justify their conduct.

‡ In the same campaign, and almost at the same time that Fulvius the consul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius the other consul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elsewhere, of the inroad those nations had made into different countries of Europe and Asia under Brennus. The Gauls in question had settled in that part of Asia Minor, called, from their name, Gallo Græcia, or Gallatia; and formed three bodies, three different states, the Tolistobogi, the Trocmi, and Tectosages. These had made themselves formidable to all the nations round, and spread terror and alarms on all sides. The pretence made use of for declaring war against them, was their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had resigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter set out from Ephesus, and marched against the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great service to him in his march; however, his brother Attalus supplied his place, and was the consul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had subdued

* Polyb. in Legat. c. xxxvii. † A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187.
‡ Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 12—27. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. 29—35.

by the power of their arms, and had not met with the least opposition. Manlius judged that it would be necessary to harangue his forces on this occasion, before they engaged the enemy. "I "am no ways surprised," says he, "that the Gauls should have "made their names formidable to, and spread the strongest "terror in the minds of nations, of so soft and effeminate a "cast as the Asiatics. Their tall stature, their fair flowing "hair, which descends to their waists; their unwieldy buck-"lers, their long swords: add to this, their songs, their cries, "and howlings, at the first onset; the dreadful clashing of "their arms and shields: All this may, indeed, intimidate "men not accustomed to them, but not you, O Romans, "whose victorious arms have so often triumphed over that na-"tion. Besides, experience has taught you, that after the "Gauls have spent their first fire, an obstinate resistance "blunts the edge of their courage, as well as their bodily "strength; and that then, quite incapable of supporting the "heat of the sun, fatigue, dust, and thirst, their arms fall from "their hands, and they sink down quite tired and exhausted. "Do not imagine these the ancient Gauls, inured to fatigues "and dangers. The luxurious plenty of the country they have "invaded, the soft temperature of the air they breathe, the "effeminacy and delicacy of the people among whom they in-"habit, have entirely enervated them. They now are no "more than Phrygians in Gallic armour; and the only cir-"cumstance I fear is, that you will not reap much honour by "the defeat of a rabble of enemies, so unworthy of disputing "victory with Romans."

It was a general opinion, with regard to the ancient Gauls, that a sure way to conquer them, was, to let them exhaust their first fire, which immediately was deadened by opposition; and that when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had lost all strength and vigour: that their bodies were even incapable of sustaining the slightest fatigues long, or withstanding the sun-beams, when they darted with ever so little violence: that, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were less than women at the conclusion of it. * *Gallos primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustinere satis sit—Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantissima laboris atque æstus fluere; primaque eorum prælia plus quam virorum, postrema minus quam feminarum esse.*

Those who are not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertain very near the same idea of them. However, the late transactions in Italy, and especially

* Liv. l. x. n. 28.

on the Rhine, must have undeceived them in that particular. Though I am very much prejudiced in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I question whether they ever discovered greater patience, resolution, and bravery, than the French did at the siege of Philipsburg. I do not speak merely of the generals and officers; courage being natural to, and in a manner inherent in them: but even the common soldiers showed such an ardour, intrepidity, and greatness of soul, as amazed the generals. The sight of an army, formidable by its numbers, and still more so by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, served only to animate them the more. During the whole course of this long and laborious siege, in which they suffered so much by the fire of the besieged, and the heat of the sun; by the violence of the rains, and the inundations of the Rhine, they never once breathed the least murmur or complaint. They were seen wading through great floods, where they were up to the shoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their heads, and afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outside of the trenches full of water, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; and then advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack, demanding, with the loudest shouts, that the enemy should not be allowed capitulation of any kind; and to dread no other circumstance, but their being denied the opportunity of signalizing their courage and zeal still more, by storming the city. What I now relate is universally known. The most noble sentiments of honour, bravery, and intrepidity, must necessarily have taken deep root in the minds of our countrymen; otherwise, they could not have roused at once so gloriously in a first campaign, after having been in a manner asleep during a twenty years peace.

The testimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is so glorious to the nation, and even reflects so bright a lustre on the king, that I am persuaded none of my readers will be displeased to find it inserted here entire. If this digression is not allowable in a history like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable in a Frenchman fired with zeal for his king and country.

The KING'S LETTER to the MARSHAL D'ASFELDT.

" COUSIN,

" I AM entirely sensible of the important service you have " done me in taking Philipsburg. Nothing less than your cou- " rage and resolution could have surmounted the obstacles to

" that enterprise, occasioned by the inundations of the Rhine. " You have had the satisfaction to see your example inspire the " officers and soldiers with the same sentiments. I caused an " account to be sent me daily, of all the transactions of that " siege, and always observed, that the ardour and patience of " my troops increased in proportion to the difficulties that arose " either from the swelling of the floods, the presence of the " enemy, or the fire of the place. Every kind of success may " be expected from so valiant a nation: and I enjoin you to in- " form the general officers and others, and even the whole ar- " my, that I am highly satisfied with them. You need not " doubt my having the same sentiments with regard to you; " to assure you of which is the sole motive of this letter; and, " cousin, I beseech the Almighty to have you in his keeping, " and direct you."

VERSAILLES, JULY 23, 1734.

I now return to the history. After Manlius had ended the speech repeated above, the army discovered by their shouts, how impatiently they desired to be led against the enemy; and accordingly the consul entered their territories. The Gauls did not once suspect that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay so remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppose them. But notwithstanding this, they made a long and vigorous resistance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles; disputed the passes with him; shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses, and retired to such eminences as they thought inaccessible. However, the consul, so far from being discouraged, followed, and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them separately, stormed their cities, and defeated them in several engagements. I shall not descend to particulars, which were of little importance, and consequently would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged at last to submit, and to confine themselves within the limits prescribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under from those barbarians, who hitherto had done nothing but harass and plunder their neighbours. So happy a tranquillity was restored on this side, that the empire of the Romans was established there from the river Halys to mount Taurus; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Asia Minor. * We are told that An-

* Cic. Orat. pro Dejot. n. xxxvi. Val. Max. l. iv. c. i.

tiochus * said, on this occasion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans for having freed him from the cares and troubles which the government of so vast an extent of country, must necessarily have brought upon him.

† Fulvius, one of the consuls, returned to Rome, in order to preside in the assembly. The consulate was given to M. Valerius Messala, and C. Livius Salinator. The instant the assembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himself and Manlius his colleague were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconsuls.

Manlius had repaired to Ephesus, to settle, with the ten commissioners, who had been appointed by the senate, the most important articles of their commission. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as also that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been sentenced to pay the Romans 600 talents (600,000 crowns) for having assisted Antiochus; however, half this sum was accepted at the request of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a present to Eumenes of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repassed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the several cities to audience, and settled their chief difficulties.

‡ Antiochus was very much puzzled how to raise the sum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him, and left the regency of Syria, during his absence, to Seleucus his son, whom he had declared his presumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very considerable treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a strong temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled against him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiously during a long series of years. However, the people, exasperated by this sacrilege, rebelled against him,

* Antiochus magnus—dicere est solitus, benigne sibi a populo Romano esse factum, quod nimis magna procuratione liberatus, modici s regni terminis uteretur. Cic.

† A. M. 38 6. Ant J. C. 188. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 35.

‡ A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 298. Justin. l. xxxiii. c. 2. Hieron. in Dan, c. xi.

and murdered him with all his followers. * Aurelius Victor says, that he was killed by some of his own officers, whom he had beat one day when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praise for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his subjects permission, and even commanded them not to obey his ordinances, in case they should be found to interfere with the laws, shows that he had a high regard for justice. Till the age of 50 he had behaved, on all occasions, with such bravery, prudence, and application, as had given success to all his enterprises, and acquired him the title of the Great. But from that time his wisdom, as well as application, had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war against the Romans; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather contempt for the wise counsels of Hannibal; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept: these circumstances sullied the glory of his former successes; and his death, occasioned by a wicked and sacrilegious enterprise, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verse, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accomplished.

"† But his sons," of the king of the north, "shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and "one (Antiochus the Great) shall certainly come and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred "up even to his fortress." ‡ This king of the north was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind him two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus, afterwards surnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war against Ptolemy Philopater, king of the south, that is, of Egypt; dispossessed him of Cœlosyria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy's generals in the narrow passes near Berytus, and made himself master of part of Phœnicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuse him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is still more expressive. "He," meaning Antiochus, "shall come. He shall overflow the" enemy's country. "He shall pass over" mount Libanus. "He shall halt,"

* De veris illust. c. liv. † Ver. 10.
‡ See ver. 8.

whilst overtures of peace are making him. He shall advance "with ardour as far as the fortresses," that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verses.

"* And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, "and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king "of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude, but "the multitude shall be given into his hand." Ptolemy Philopater was an indolent effeminate prince. It was necessary to excite and drag him in a manner out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms, and repulse the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country: *Provocatus.* At last he put himself at the head of his troops, and by the valour and good conduct of his generals, obtained a signal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

"† And when he had taken away the multitude, his heart "shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; "but he shall not be strengthened by it." Antiochus lost upwards of 10,000 foot, and 300 horse, and 4000 of his men were taken prisoners. Philopater, having marched after his victory to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt to enter the sanctuary; "his heart shall be lifted up;" and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride towards the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former excesses: "but he shall not be strengthened by "it."

‡ For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a "multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, "after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches." Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding 14 years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years of age, had succeeded Philopater his father, he united with Philip king of Macedon in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium, near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country which Philopater had conquered by the victory he gained at Raphia.

"‖ And in those times there shall many stand up against the

* Ver. 11. † Ver. 12. ‡ Ver. 13. ‖ Ver. 14.

"king of the south." This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Macedonia and Syria against the infant monarch of Egypt: by the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas to dispossess him of his crown and his life. "* Also the robbers "of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but "they shall fall." Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him; but it was not long-lived; for when Antiochus regained possession of Judea and Jerusalem, he either extirpated or drove out of the country, all the partisans of Ptolemy. This subjection of the Jews to the sovereignty of the kings of Syria prepared the way for the accomplishment of the prophecy which denounced the calamities which Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occasioned a great number of them to fall into apostacy.

"† So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, "and take the most fenced cities, and the arms of the south "shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall "there be any strength to withstand——‡ But he that cometh "against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall "stand before him: And he shall stand in the glorious land "which by his hand shall be consumed." Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Paneas, besieged and took, first Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops which the king of Egypt had sent against him. "He did ac-"cording to his own will," in Cœlosyria and Palestine, and nothing was able to make the least resistance against him. Pursuing his conquests in Palestine, he entered Judea, "that glorious," or according to the Hebrew, "that desirable land." He there established his authority, and strengthened it, by repulsing from the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had thrown into it. This garrison being so well defended, that Antiochus was obliged to send for all his troops in order to force it, and the siege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and consumed by the stay the army was obliged to make in it.

"‖ He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his "whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: Thus shall he

* The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.
† Ver. 15. ‡ Ver. 16. ‖ Ver. 17.

"do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupt-"ing her; but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him." Antiochus seeing that the Romans undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would best suit his interest to lull the king asleep, by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to "corrupt her," and excite her to betray her husband: But he was not successful in his design; for as soon as she was married to Ptolemy she renounced her father's interest, and embraced those of her husband. It was on this account that we see her * join with him in the embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

"† After this he shall turn his face into the isles, and shall "take many: But a prince for his own behalf shall cause the "reproach which Antiochus had offered him to cease; with-"out his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him." Antiochus, having put an end to the war of Cœlosyria and Palestine, sent his two sons, at the head of the land army, to Sardis, whilst himself embarked on board the fleet, and sailed to the Ægean sea, where he took several islands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that side. However, the prince of the people whom he had insulted by making this invasion, that is, L. Scipio the Roman consul, caused the reproach to turn upon him by, defeating him at mount Sipilus, and repulsing him from every part of Asia Minor.

"‡ Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own "land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found." Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest fortress in it. He went soon after into the provinces of the east, in order to levy money to pay the Romans; but having plundered the temple of Elymias, he there lost his life in a miserable manner.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained in most places according to the Hebrew text. I confess there may be some doubtful and obscure terms, which may be difficult to explain, and are variously interpreted by commentators: But is it possible for the substance of the prophecy to appear obscure and doubtful? Can any reasonable man, who makes use of his understanding, ascribe such a prediction either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human

* Legati ab Ptolemæo et Cleopatra, regibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manlius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græciæ expulissit, venerunt. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 3.

† Ver 18. ‡ Ver. 19.

prudence and sagacity? Can any light but what proceeds from God himself penetrate in this manner into the darkness of futurity, and point out the events of it in so exact and circumstantial a manner? Not to mention what is here said concerning Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldest reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and, accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngest is Antiochus, surnamed the Great from his great actions; and accordingly, our prophet gives a transient account of the principal circumstances of his life, his most important enterprises, and even the manner of his death. In it we see his expeditions into Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, several cities of which are besieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jerusalem, which is laid waste by the stay his troops make in it; his conquests of a great many islands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not answer the design he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman consul; his retreat to Antioch; and, lastly, his unfortunate end. These are, in a manner, the outlines of Antiochus's picture, which can be made to resemble none but himself. Is it to be supposed that the prophet drew those features without design and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts which denote the accomplishment of the prophecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet in question, and whose fidelity cannot be suspected in any manner. We must renounce, not only religion, but reason, to refuse to acknowledge, in such prophecies as these, the intervention of a Supreme Being, to whom all ages are present, and who governs the world with absolute power.

SECTION IX.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATER SUCCEEDS ANTIOCHUS.—COMPLAINTS AGAINST PHILIP.

ANTIOCHUS the Great dying*, Seleucus Philopater, his eldest son, whom he had left in Antioch when he set out for the eastern provinces, succeeded him. But his reign was obscure and contemptible, occasioned by the misery to which the Romans had reduced that crown, and the exorbitant sum († 1000 talents annually) he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue

* A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.
† About. 190,000l.

of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.

* Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he had sent an ambassador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this offer with joy, and accordingly sent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, they entered into a discourse concerning that prince. In the praise the ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chase, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms; and, to give an example of what he asserted, he declared that this prince, being on horseback, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the discharge of a single javelin.

The same year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometer. † The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœlosyria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all the provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries went to Alexandria upon that occasion with the most splendid equipages. Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver-general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his jests, said to him, "Do but behold, sir, the quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, "and your majesty may judge in what manner his father "gnaws your provinces." These words made the king laugh; and he asked Hyrcanus how he came to have so great a number of bones before him. "Your majesty need not wonder at that," replied he, "for dogs eat both flesh and bones, as you see the "rest of the persons at your table have done," pointing to them; "but men are contented to eat the flesh, and leave "the bones, like me." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confused. When the day for

* Polyb. in Leg. c. 37. † Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4.

making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out that he had only five talents to present,* it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents made by the rest did not exceed twenty talents.† But Hyrcanus presented to the king 100 boys, well shaped and finely dressed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like present for that princess. The whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surpassing magnificence; and the king and queen dismissed Hyrcanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

‡ Ptolemy, in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause; because he followed in all things the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him; but afterwards, the flattery of courtiers, that deadly poison to kings, prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. That prince shunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took of advising him to act more consistently with himself, he dispatched him by poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations, plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind, followed no other guides in the administration of affairs but his wild passions, and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians growing at last quite weary of the oppressions and injustice to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest quality having engaged in this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution. ‖ To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs both in peace and war; for he had risen to the command of the army under his father, and had serv-

* About 75l. † About 3000l.
‡ A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.
‖ Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.

ed in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conspiracy was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion conduced very much to the preservation of the state.

Ptolemy*, by the assistance of this prime minister, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions; but having seized their persons, he forfeited his promise, and after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking of, seems to have been very powerful, and in great consideration We have seen that Ptolemy, a little after his accession to the throne, had been very solicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was also very desirous of in the latter end of his reign, and accordingly offered that republic 6000 shields, and 200 talents of brass. His offer was accepted; and, in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance; and these returned soon after with Ptolemy's ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. † King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, and offered 120 talents, (about 21,000*l.* sterling) the interest of which to be applied for the support of the members of the public council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who, in the name of their sovereign, offered ten ships of war completely equipped; and, at the same time, desired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador, whom Philopœmen had sent to Rome to justify his conduct, was returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.

For these several reasons a great assembly was held. The first man that entered it, was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the mas-

* A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183.

† A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 186. Polyb. in Legat. c. 14. p. 850-852.

sacre of the Spartans; but, at the same time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no person happened to speak for or against the answers of the senate, no further mention was made of it at that time; but the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father, and proposed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of 120 talents, they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always showed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to say, Apollonius of Sicyone rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, considered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case the republic could not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications: "For, in a word," continued he, "as the law forbids every individual, whether of the people "or of the magistrates, to receive any gift from a king upon any "pretence whatsoever, the crime would be much greater, should "the commonwealth collectively, accept of Eumenes's offers. "That with regard to the infamy, it was self-evident; for, "(says Apollonius), what could reflect greater ignominy in a "council, than to receive annually from a king, money for its "subsistence; and to assemble, in order to deliberate on public "affairs, only as so many of his pensioners, and in a manner "rising from his table, after having * swallowed the bait that "concealed the hook? But what dreadful consequences might "not be expected from such a custom, should it be established? "That afterwards Prusias, excited by the example of Eumenes, "would also be liberal of his benefactions, and after him Se-"leucus: that as the interest of kings differed widely from "those of the republics, and as in the latter their most im-"portant deliberations related to their differences with crown-"ed heads, two things would inevitably happen: either the "Achæans would transact all things to the advantage of those "princes, and to the prejudice of their own country; or else "they must behave with the blackest ingratitude towards their

* Polybius, by this expression, would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered a hook, that is, the design which Eumenes had of making all those who composed the council his dependents. Καταπεπωκότας οἱονεὶ δίλιαρ.

"benefactors." He concluded his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the present which was offered, and added, "that it was their duty to take umbrage at Eumenes, for attempting to bribe their fidelity by such an offer." The whole assembly with shouts rejected unanimously the proposal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas, and the rest of the ambassadors who had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Aristhenes, who presided in the assembly, having asked what treaty the king of Egypt desired to renew (several having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions), and nobody being able to answer that question, the decision of that affair was referred to another time.

At last the ambassadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships he offered.

* Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried from all quarters to Rome against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three commissioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognisance of those affairs upon the spot.

† Philip still retained the strongest resentment against the Romans, with whom he believed he had just reason to be dissatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, because by the articles of peace he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to console him, by permitting him to invade Athamania, and Amynander the king of that country; by giving up to him some cities of Thessaly, which the Ætolians had seized; by leaving him the possession of Demetrias and all Magnesia; and by not opposing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumstances had somewhat appeased his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. But the complaints that were made against him at Rome having been listened to there, revived all his former disgusts.

The three commissioners being arrived at Tempe in Thessaly,

* A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185. † Liv. l. xxxix. n. 23—29.

an assembly was called there, to which came, on one side, the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhæbians, and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip king of Macedon: a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors explained their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him in favour of their liberty, entreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a master, and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendship than fear. The rest of the ambassadors, being less reserved, and not so moderate, reproached him to his face for his injustice, oppression, and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince*, like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained without a very tight rein and a sharp curb. Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said, that like † slaves, who being made free on a sudden, contrary to all expectation, break into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors; so they abused, with the utmost insolence, the indulgence of the Romans, and were incapable, after enduring a long servitude, to make a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them. The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers (the circumstances of which I shall omit as little important), and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon the respective demands.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to inquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much disgusted followed them thither. Eumenes's ambassadors said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were

* Ut equum æternacem non parentem, frenis asperioribus castigandum esse. Liv.

† Insolenter et immodice abuti Thessalos indulgentia populi Romani; velut ex diutina siti nimis avide meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo præter spem repente manumissorum, licentiam vocis et linguæ experiri, et jactare sese insectatione et conviciis dominorum. Liv.

resolved to restore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty, their sovereign was far from having a design to oppose it; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the conditions of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus, in that case, the service which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome, seemed to require that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force; that, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes by a decree of the ten commissioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before, and directing himself personally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions; and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse 3000 * talents, 50 ships of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him: that, notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom it was too great a condescension to compare himself; and that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. "You, O "Romans," said he, concluding his speech, "are to consider "upon what foot you intend to have me be with you. If you "are determined to treat me as an enemy, and to urge me to "extremities, in that case you need only use me as you have "hitherto done; but, if you still revere in my person, the ti"tle and quality of king, ally, and friend, spare me, I beseech "you, the shame of being treated any longer with so much in"dignity."

The commissioners were moved with this speech of the king. For this reason, they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in suspence, by making no decisive answer; and ac-

* About 450,000l. sterling.

cordingly they declared, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes by the decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were, in that case it was not in their power to reverse it in any manner: that if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them: that if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judgment of the senate, and in the mean time the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, so far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

* The commissioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristhenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the republic in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all other occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristhenes, who did not reply a single word, showed that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politics, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to speak with the utmost vigour in defence of the republic. They shewed, that the whole transaction at Sparta had been conducted by prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians; and that, had it been otherwise, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, must have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with that discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this the magis-

* Polyb. in Legat. c. 41. p. 853, 854.

trates replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly, that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador, and before him Marcus Fulvius, would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristhenes and Diophanes were in their interest; and indeed they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly suspected by the populace.

* Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with whatever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said in the presence of Cecilius, in Thessalonica. The senate, after admitting them to audience, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the spot whether he was withdrawn, as he had promised Cecilius, from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him at the same time to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the castles, territories, and cities, which he possessed on the sea coast of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent, to give their reasons why they had not made their answers to Cecilius, and to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans, who had deputed to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the first exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see that, notwithstanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had, however, charged themselves with the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable blessing of returning to their houses and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done; and they likewise cleared themselves, for their having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Areus and

* A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 184. Polyb. in Legat. c. 42. Liv. l. xxix. n. 33.

Alcibiades represented, in the most affecting manner, the sad calamity to which Sparta was reduced; its walls were demolished; its * citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a state of captivity: the sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, had been entirely abolished.

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to inquire into this affair as were nominated to inspect those of Macedon, and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly whenever the Roman ambassadors should require it, as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome as often as they asked it.

† When Philip was informed by his ambassadors, who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they led a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmost violence upon the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter absolutely asserted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. "Some," says he, "declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, a great "quarrel arose, and they butchered one another." He went so far as to challenge them to produce any person who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. "It is to no purpose," says Appius to him, "for you to apologise for yourself; I know what things have

* By the decree of the Achæans, it had been enacted, that such slaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta should leave the city and all Laconia; in default of which the Achæans were empowered to seize and sell them as slaves; which had accordingly been executed.

† Polyb. in Legat. c. 44. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35.

"been done, as well as the authors of them." These words gave Philip the greatest anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate on the affair in question, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last he declared that he would send Cassander whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre; but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who, he declared, so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason of this conduct was, Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he had reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship, but at the same time sent some persons after him, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans, the king of Macedon reflecting in his own mind and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself, would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against that people; but, being not prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. Philip resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, who, having been many years an hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologise for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people, would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of entering into war against the Romans. And accord-

ingly he defeated these petty sovereigns in a battle, and took prisoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

* The arrival of the Roman commissioners was expected in Peloponnesus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready for them, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He represented to the assembly such things as they might fear from them, the Romans seeming to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been so base as to undertake the embassy against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke like professed enemies; as if the Achæans had driven them from their country, when it was they who had restored them to it. Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for, seeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die, arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed that the inquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but disapprove of every thing which had been done on that occasion: the murder of those who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish, for several ages.

Lycortas, as president of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedæmonia, undertook to answer Appius. He showed first, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expressly forbid them to make any attempt against the maritime cities; these exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly accused, for having

* Liv. l. xxix. n. 35—37.

assisted them to the utmost of their power, in so urgent a necessity: that, with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accused for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorized in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those who they supposed had been the authors of their banishment, and to whom the rest of the calamities they had suffered were owing. "However," added Lycortas, "it is pretended that we cannot but own that we "were the cause of the abolition of Lycurgus's laws, and the "demolition of the walls of Sparta. This, indeed, is a real "fact; but then, how can this double objection be made to us "at the same time? The walls in question were not built by "Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who erected them some few years "ago, not for the security of the city, but for their own safety, "and to enable themselves to abolish with impunity, the disci-"pline and regulation so happily established by that wise le-"gislator. Were it possible for him to rise now from the "grave, he would be overjoyed to see those walls destroyed, "and say, that he now knows and owns his native country and "ancient Sparta. You should not, O citizens of Sparta, have "waited for Philopœmen or the Achæans, but ought your-"selves to have pulled down those walls with your own hands, "and destroyed even the slightest trace of tyranny. These "were a kind of ignominious scars of your slavery: and after "having maintained your liberties and privileges during almost "800 years, and been for some time the sovereigns of Greece, "without the support and assistance of walls; they within "these hundred years have become the instruments of your "slavery, and, in a manner, your shackles and fetters. With "respect to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were suppress-"ed by the tyrants; and we have only substituted our own, by "putting you upon a level with us in all things."

Addressing himself afterwards to Appius, "I cannot forbear "owning," says he, "that the words I have hitherto spoken, "were not as from one ally to another, nor of a free nation, "but as slaves who speak to their master. For, in fine, if the "voice of the herald who proclaimed us to be free in the front "of the Grecian states, was not a vain and empty ceremony; "if the treaty concluded at that time be real and solid; if you "are desirous of sincerely preserving an alliance and friend-"ship with us, on what can that infinite disparity, which you "suppose to be between you Romans and us Achæans, be

" grounded? I do not inquire into the treatment which Capua " met with, after you had taken that city: why then do you " examine into our usage of the Lacedæmonians, after we had " conquered them? Some of them were killed: and I will sup- " pose that it was by us. But did not you strike off the heads " of several Campanian senators? We levelled the walls of " Sparta with the ground; but as for you, Romans, you not " only dispossessed the Campanians of their walls, but of their " city and lands. To this I know you will reply, that the equa- " lity expressed in the treaties between the Romans and " Achæans is merely specious, and a bare form of words: that " we really have but a precarious and derivative liberty; but " that the Romans are possessed of authority and empire. This, " Appius, I am but too sensible of. However, since we must be " forced to submit to this, I entreat you at least, how wide a " difference soever you may set between yourselves and us, not " to put your enemies and our own upon a level with us who " are your allies; especially not to show them better treat- " ment. They require us, by forswearing ourselves, to dissolve " and annul all we have enacted by oath: and to revoke that, " which by being written in our records, and engraved on " marble, in order to preserve the remembrance of it eternally, " is become a sacred monument which it is not lawful for us to " violate. We revere you, O Romans; and if you will have it " so, we also fear you; but then, we think it glorious to have " a greater reverence and fear for the immortal gods."

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoken like a true magistrate; it was therefore necessary for the Romans to act with vigour, or resolve to lose their authority. Appius, without descending to particulars, advised them, whilst they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at these words, but were instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of what should be demanded. All they therefore desired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased with regard to Sparta, but not oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As to the sentence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

* The Romans pronounced judgment the year following.

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 48.

The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans should be recalled and restored; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league. * Pausanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed Commissary, to settle the affairs of Macedon, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbances subsisted, especially between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. † They all had sent ambassadors to Rome; but it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty; or, at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy, to the latter people. It was answered them that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous, and who covered their ambitious designs with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

SECTION X.

PHILOPŒMEN BESIEGES MESSENE.—HE IS TAKEN PRISONER AND PUT TO DEATH.—PTOLEMY EPIPHANES DIES.

DINOCRATES the Messenian‡, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league, and was meditating how he might best sieze upon a considerable post called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then 70 years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay sick. However, the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out, notwithstanding his indisposition, made

* In Achaiac. p. 414. † Polyb. in Legat. c. 51.
‡ A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in Legat. c. 52, 53.

After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes laid together and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral as a triumph; or rather it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners bound in chains: afterwards the general's son, young * Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most distinguished Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, who closed the march, and did not seem too much dejected at this mournful scene, nor too much elated from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the procession, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All possible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Messenian captives were stoned round his sepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpose, ordered all the greatest honours to be paid him, and erected many statues to him with magnificent inscriptions.

Several† years after, at the time that Corinth was burned and destroyed by Mummius the proconsul, a false accuser, a Roman, as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broke to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was heard in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were answered by Polybius, who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is great pity so affecting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans: for the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper disparity between virtue and interest; they distinguished the glorious and honest from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as the Roman writers observe that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and

* This was Polybius the historian, who might then be about 22.

† 37 years.

Scipio, happened to die in the same year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and as it were upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of his character, so shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities, which, from the example they set them, had also renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a seasonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and excessive severity, which breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to despair, and so far from proving a remedy to evils, only inflames and exasperates them the more.

When news came to Rome that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their transactions with other nations. They seemed at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion that they had sought all opportunities to serve them.

It is manifest on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus; that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians were disgusted; and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in some enterprise which might have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

*I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Cartha-

* Liv. l. xxix. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. 10—12. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

ginians. After his retiring from Antiochus's court, he fled to Prusias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occasion Eumenes's fleet consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and filled several earthen vessels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only, informing them at the same time of a sign by which they should distinguish it from the rest; and to annoy the enemy no otherwise, than by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the galleys. At first this was only laughed at; the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service; but when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the galleys, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious; "What*," says Hannibal, "do you rely "more upon the liver of a beast than upon the counsel of Han- "nibal?" To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.

† I before observed that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyone, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to it, he represented that the Romans, to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burdened with it: that they had declared to the ambassadors that they were no ways concerned in this affair: that the Spartans, in the administration of the public affairs, were very desirous

* An tu, inquit, vitulinæ carunculæ, quam imperatori veteri mavis credere?—Unius hostiæ jecinori longo experimento testatam gloriam suam postponi, æquo animo non tulit. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

† A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Legat. c. 53.

of that union, which he observed, could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the first exiles who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them would not be included in it, but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. But Diophanes and some other persons undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. However, notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the league, and was so accordingly. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achæan republic.

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate after giving audience to those sent by Sparta and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors, which tended to show that they were not disgusted in any manner at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate, and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state: and the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

* The Lacedæmonian exiles were no sooner returned from Rome into Peloponnesus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered, that the purport of those letters should be considered at the return of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had written in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans hearing this, thought it not requisite to make any change in what had been decreed.

† Hyperbates, having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had written concerning the re-establishment of the exiles who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the Romans," says he, "listen favourably to such complaints and entreaties

* A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 181. Polyb. in Legat. c. 54.
† A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 180. Polyb. in Leg. c. 58.

" of unfortunate persons, as appear to them just and reasona-
" ble, they, in this, act a very unjust part. But when it is re-
" presented to them that among the favours which are reques-
" ted at their hands, some are not in their power to bestow,
" and others would reflect dishonour, and be very prejudicial
" to their allies; on these occasions they do not use to persist
" obstinately in their opinions, or exact from such allies an
" implicit obedience to their commands. This is exactly our
" case at present. Let us inform the Romans, that we cannot
" obey their orders without infringing the sacred oaths we have
" taken; without violating the laws on which our league is
" founded; and then they will undoubtedly wave their resolu-
" tions, and confess that it is with the greatest reason we re-
" fuse to obey their commands." Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans, and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be sacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to the senate, in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Lysiades, and Aratus, were the ambassadors to whom instructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When these ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. He not only had the assurance to censure those who differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what they should do. " If the Greeks," says he, directing himself to the senators, " do not obey you; if they
" pay no regard either to the letters or orders which you send
" them, you must blame yourselves only for it. In all the states
" of Greece there are now two parties; one of which asserts,
" that all your orders ought to be obeyed, and that laws and
" treaties, in a word, that all things should pay homage to your
" will and pleasure: the other party pretends, that it is fitting
" that laws, treaties, and oaths, ought to take place of your
" will; and are for ever exhorting the people to adhere invio-
" lably to them. Of these two parties, the last suits best with
" the genius and character of the Achæans, and has the greatest
" influence over the people. What is the consequence of this?
" Those who comply with your measures are detested by the
" common people, whilst such as oppose your decrees are ho-
" noured and applauded. Whereas, if the senate would show
" ever so little favour to such as espouse their interest cordially,
" the chief magistrates and officers of all the republics would

" declare for the Romans; and the people intimidated by this, " would soon follow their example. But whilst you show an " indifference on this head, all the chiefs will certainly oppose " you, as the infallible means of acquiring the love and respect " of the people. And accordingly we see, that many people " whose only merit consists in their making the strongest op- " position to your orders, and a pretended zeal for the defence " and preservation of the laws of their country, have been rais- " ed to the most exalted employments in their country. In case " you do not much value whether the Greeks are or are not at " your devotion, then indeed your present conduct suits ex- " actly your sentiments. But if you would have them execute " your orders, and receive your letters with respect, reflect " seriously on this matter; otherwise be assured that they " will, on all occasions, declare against your commands. You " may judge of the truth of this from their present behaviour " towards you. How long is it since you commanded them, " by your letters, to recal the Lacedæmonian exiles? Never- " theless, so far from recalling them, they have published a " quite contrary decree, and have bound themselves by oath, " never to reinstate them. This ought to be a lesson to you, " and show how cautious you should be for the future "

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their business in few words, but in such as were well adapted to move compassion, and then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome, as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the senate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themselves spontaneously into the arms of slavery, prostituted the liberty of which their ancestors had been so exceedingly jealous, and paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which they had always refused to the great king of Persia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their interest, sold and sacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; discovered the weak side of its republics with regard to their domestic affairs; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those who, in their respective

countries, had the most noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such, who, whether right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans; a resolution, which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all republics, and very much lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress by all possible methods whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of the republic, and to show us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgment cannot be formed but by the consequences.

To conclude, the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans; and in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example the senate wished the magistrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia were upon the point of experiencing; for hitherto a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and the Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them, and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, in the most perilous junctures, as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves at that time in a most conspicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty, and above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treason (for we may justly bestow that name upon it) gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniencies they would bring upon themselves, should they grant certain favours; they generally return to a just way of thinking,

and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing but how he might best work upon their passions by flattery. He had been sent to Rome to plead the cause of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declares against his superiors, and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain-general. He was no sooner invested with this command, but he restored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listen to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauses he gives them will not admit of great abridgment. The reader must call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery. We are not to expect from an historian, who is subject and dependent, so much veracity as he very possibly would have observed in a free-state, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth; and we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themselves did not scruple to commit injustice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing foreign means for that purpose, which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

* Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, of which his successors remained possessors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome. Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprises ensued; and after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

* A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Legat. c. 51—53—53—59.

* Never were more embassies sent than at the time we are now speaking of. Ambassadors were seen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces; or from the allies and nations to one another. The † Achæans deputed, in this quality, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. However these ambassadors did not leave Achaia, because when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

‡ This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has already been mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that, as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus dispatched in his 29th year, after he had sat 24 years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometer, his son, who was but six years of age succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

CHAP. II.

THIS second chapter includes the space of 20 years, from the year of the world 3821, till 3840. In this interval are contained: the first 20 years of Ptolemy Philometer's reign over Egypt, which amounted in the whole to 34 years: the five last years of Philip, who reigned 40 years in Macedonia, and was succeeded by Perseus, who reigned 11: the eight or nine last years of Seleucus Philopater in Syria, and the 11 years of Antiochus Epiphanes his successor, who exercised the most horrid cruelties against the Jews. I shall reserve the 11 years of Perseus's reign over Macedonia for the following book,

* A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. † Polyb. in Legat. c. 57.
‡ A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Hieron. in Daniel.

though they coincide with part of the history related in this chapter.

SECTION I.

PERSEUS CONSPIRES AGAINST DEMETRIUS.—THE LATTER IS INNOCENTLY PUT TO DEATH, AND PERSEUS SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE.

FROM * the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome to complain against Philip, were heard there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city against a prince, who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all, with the hopes either of having the injuries redressed which they pretended to have received, or at least to console themselves in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the rest, to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the senate, that Philip did not evacuate the garrisons in Thrace, as he had promised; and to complain of his sending succours into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip, king of Macedon, was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been sent by his father, in order to superintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father: but the senate imagining that this would be a very difficult task for so young a prince, who was not accustomed to speak in public: to spare him that trouble, they sent certain persons to him to inquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials, and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him; but he especially showed great disgust at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to; and as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and assured them, that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate repli-

* A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 46, 47.
† Liv. l. xxxix. 53.

ed, that his father Philip could not have done more wisely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses: that as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things: that, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave: that, although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there, as the hostage of his inclinations his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father: that out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noise, whatever might have been hitherto amiss: and that as to the rest, the senate was well pleased to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved towards him. These marks of distinction, which the senate gave him with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only animated envy against him, and at length occasioned his destruction.

The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to the various dispositions of mens minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedon, after the demise of his father: for though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perseus was the son of a concubine, and even reputed suppositious. Besides it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. And these were the common reports.

On one side also, Perseus was greatly uneasy; as he feared that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother superior to him in all other respects: and, on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to dispose of the crown as he pleased, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him, to see rising in his life-time, and before his eyes, a kind of second court in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself did not take sufficient care to prevent or sooth the growing disaffection to his person. Instead

of endeavouring to suppress envy, by gentleness, modesty, and complacency, he only inflamed it, by a certain air of haughtiness which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction with which he had been honoured in that city, and not scrupling to declare, that the senate had granted him many things they had refused his father.

Philip's discontent was much more inflamed at the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son made his court more assiduously than to himself, and when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had received from Rome. All these orders and decrees he complied with very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment, but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, against people with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

* However his schemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commissioners who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the kings discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families to leave them, settled them in † the most northern part of Macedon, and substituted in their places Thracians, and other barbarous nations, who he believed would be more faithful to him. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon: and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houses, and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.

‡ But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. All things were suspected by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but in securing

* Liv l. xl. n. 3—5. † Æmtaia, formerly called Pœonia.
‡ A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182.

their children, and he imprisoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly made it still more execrable. He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal persons of the country, and, some time after, his two sons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state; but Archo married a nobleman of Ænia, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo dying early left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender of them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to murder the children of those who had been put to death, plainly foreseeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprising resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends, on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely, and that he himself would convey them thither. Accordingly they all set out from Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Ænia, to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Thessalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards, in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back towards the coast. At day-break the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop, commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company in the strongest terms to exert themselves to the utmost in order to get forward, or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, resuming her former reso-

lution, and presenting to her children the deadly dose she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her: "Death," says she, "only can free you from your miseries; and here is "what will procure you that last sad refuge. Secure yourselves "from the king's horrid cruelty by the method you like best. "Go, my dear children, such of you as are more advanced in "years, and take these poinards; or, in case a slower kind of "death may be more grateful, take this poison." The enemy were now almost in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands; and all, having either swallowed the deadly draughts or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leaped into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed, to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publicly detested as a bloody tyrant; and people vented, in all places, both against him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy, soon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

* Perseus saw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans increased daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by sounding the disposition of those who were in greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first, some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly, which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them, they thought it their interest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

* Liv. l. xl. n. 5—16.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion that for the present it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans, and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously, on all occasions, made the discourse turn *in the* king's presence upon the Romans; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits; some for the city of Rome, which according to them was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others, even for such of the Romans as were in highest estimation; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all these discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on these occasions. Hence Demetrius, without considering the consequences, grew suspected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accusations and calumnies preparing against him. Accordingly, his father did not communicate to him any of the designs he continually meditated against Rome, and unbosomed himself only to Perseus.

The ambassadors whom he had sent to the Bastarnæ, to desire aid from them, returned about the time we are now speaking of. These had brought with them several youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. This new alliance with a powerful nation very much exalted the king's courage. Perseus taking advantage of this opportunity: "Of what use," says he, "can all this be to us? We have not so much to hope "from foreign aids, as to dread from domestic foes. We har- "bour in our bosoms, I will not say a traitor, but at least a "spy. The Romans, ever since he was an hostage among "them have restored us his body; but as to his heart and in- "clinations, those he has left with them. Almost all the Ma- "cedonians fix already their eyes on him; and are persuaded, "that they shall never have any king, but him whom the Ro- "mans shall please to set over them." By such speeches, the old king's disgust was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed in a festival solemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow: A bitch, says Livy, is divided into two

parts;* it being cut, long ways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each side of the road. The troops under arms are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the shining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the most remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appears afterwards, followed by all the royal household, and the companies of guards. The march is closed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the present occasion, the two princes walked on each side of the king: Perseus being 30 years of age, and Demetrius 25: the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age: Sons who might have formed their father's happiness, had his mind been rightly disposed and reasonable.

The custom was, after the sacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms but files, and represented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However this was not a mere mock battle; all the men exerted themselves, with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been disputing for the throne: several were wounded on both sides, and nothing but swords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the superiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perseus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accusation against his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the soldiers of their respective parties. Perseus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refused to come. The joy was very great on both sides, and the guests drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much discourse passed about the battle, and the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and satirical flings, some of which were very sharp against those of the contrary party, without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet: but four young persons, who came by accident out of the hall, having discovered this spy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, said to the company, "Let us go and conclude our feast

* We find in scripture the same ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two contracting parties pass through the parts of the victim divided. Jer. xxxiv. 18.

" at my brother's, to soften his pain, if he has any remaining, " by an agreeable surprise, which will show that we act with " frankness and sincerity, and do not harbour any malice " against him." Immediately all cried they would go, those excepted, who were afraid their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man running hastily before, went to Perseus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who abused his spy. Nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the door to be locked, and then from the window of an upper apartment which looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants not to open the door to wretches, who were come with design to assassinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table: still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus's spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air, and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprised at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance? " It is the greatest happiness " for me," answers Perseus, " and by the merest good fortune in " the world, that you see me here alive. My brother now no " longer lays secret snares for me; he came in the night to my " house, at the head of a body of armed men, purposely to assas- " sinate me. I had no other way left to secure myself from his " fury, but by shutting my doors, and keeping the wall between " him and me." Perseus perceiving, by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread: " If you " will condescend," says he, " to listen a moment to me, you " shall be fully acquainted with the whole state of the affair." Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him, and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time, he sent for Lysimachus and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at

court. Philip, whilst he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone, during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards, and permitted each of his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him: and having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows.

"Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit as judge between my two sons, one the accuser, and the other charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide; reduced to the sad necessity of finding, in one of them, either a criminal or a false accuser. From certain rumours, which long since reached my ears, and an unusual behaviour I observed between you (a behaviour no way suiting brothers) I indeed was afraid this storm would break over my head; and yet I hoped, from time to time, that your discontents and disgusts would soften, and your suspicions vanish away. I recollected, that contending kings and princes, laying down their arms, had frequently contracted alliances and friendships, and that private men had suppressed their animosities. I flattered myself, that you would one day remember the endearing name of brethren by which you are united; those tender years of infancy which you spent in simplicity and union; in fine, the counsels so often repeated by a father: counsels, which, alas! I am afraid have been given to children deaf and indocile to my voice. How many times, after setting before you examples of the discord between brothers, have I represented its fatal consequences, by showing you, that they had thereby involved themselves in inevitable ruin? and not only themselves, but their children, families, and kingdoms? On the other side, I proposed good examples for your imitation: the strict union between the two kings of Lacedæmonia, so advantageous during several centuries to themselves and their country, in opposition to division and private interest that changed the monarchic government into tyranny, and proved the destruction of Sparta. By what other method, than by fraternal concord, did the two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, from such weak beginnings as almost reflected dishonour on the regal dignity, rise to a pitch of power equal to mine, to that of Antiochus, and of all the kings we know of? I even did not scruple to cite examples from the Romans, of which I myself had either been an eye-witness, or heard from others: as the two brothers, Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both were engaged,

" in war with me: the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who " defeated and subjected Antiochus; their father and their " uncle, who, having been inseparable during their lives, were " undivided in death. Neither the crimes of the one, though " attended with such fatal consequences, nor the virtues of the " other, though crowned with such happy success, have been " able to make you abhor division and discord, and to *inspire* " you with gentle and pacific sentiments. Both of you, in my " life-time, have turned your eyes and guilty desires upon my " throne. You will not suffer me to live, till surviving one of " you, I secure my crown to the other by my death. The " fond names of father and brother are insupportable to both. " Your souls are strangers to tenderness and love. A restless " desire of reigning has banished all other sentiments from your " breasts, and entirely engrosses you. But come, let me hear " what each of you have to say. Pollute the ears of your pa- " rent with real or feigned accusations. Open your criminal " mouths; vent all your reciprocal slanders, and afterwards " arm your parricide hands one against the other. I am ready " to hear all you have to say; firmly determined to shut my " ears eternally from henceforth against the secret whispers " and accusations of brother against brother." Philip having spoken these last words with great emotion and an angry tone of voice, all who were present wept, and continued a long time in a mournful silence.

At last Perseus spoke as follows: " I perceive plainly, that " I ought to have opened my door in the dead of the night; to " have admitted the assassins into my house, and presented my " throat to their murderous swords, since guilt is never be- " lieved till it has been perpetrated; and since I, who was so " inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious reproaches " as the aggressor. People have but too much reason to say, " that you consider Demetrius only as your true son; whilst " unhappy I am looked upon as a stranger, sprung from a con- " cubine, or an impostor: for, did your breast glow with the " tenderness which a father ought to have for his child, you " would not think it just to inveigh so bitterly against me (for " whose life so many snares have been laid), but against him " who contrived them; and you would not think my life so in- " considerable, as to be entirely unmoved at the imminent dan- " ger I escaped; nor to that to which I shall be exposed, should " the guilt of my enemies be suffered to go unpunished. If I " must die without being suffered to breathe my complaints, " be it so; let me leave the world in silence, and be content-

" ed with beseeching the gods, in my expiring moments, that " the crime which was begun in my person, may end in it, and " not extend to your sacred life. But if (what nature inspires " in those, who seeing themselves attacked unawares in soli- " tude, implore the assistance even of strangers to them) I " may be allowed to do with regard to you on the present oc- " casion: if, when I see swords drawn round me, in order to " pierce my heart, I may be permitted to vent forth a plain- " tive and supplicating voice: I conjure you by the tender, the " dear name of father (for which, whether my brother or I " have had the greatest reverence, you yourself have long " known), to listen to me at this time, as if, awaked suddenly " from your sleep by the tumult of what passed last night, " chance had brought you at the instant of my danger, and in " the midst of my complaints, and that you had found Deme- " trius at my door, attended by persons in arms. What I " should have told you yesterday, in the greatest emotion, and " seized with fear, I say to you now.

" Brother, it is long since we have not behaved towards one " another, like persons desirous of sharing in parties of plea- " sure. You are fired with an insatiable thirst of reigning, but " you find an invincible obstacle in my age, the law of nations, " the ancient customs of Macedonia, and (a still stronger cir- " cumstance) my father's will and pleasure. It will be impos- " sible for you ever to force these barriers, and to ascend the " throne, but by imbruing your hands in my blood. To com- " pass your horrid ends, you employ instruments of all kinds, " and set every engine at work. Hitherto my vigilance, or my " good fortune, have preserved me from your bloody hands. " Yesterday, at the review, and the ceremony of the tourna- " ment which followed it, the battle, by your contrivance, be- " came almost bloody and fatal; and, had I not suffered my- " self and my followers to be defeated, you would have sent me " to the grave. From this fight, indeed, of enemies, you in- " sidiously wanted (as if what had passed had been only the di- " version of brothers) to allure me to your feast. Can you sup- " pose, royal father, that I should have met with unarmed " guests there, as those very guests came to my palace, com- " pletely armed at so late an hour? Can you imagine that, fa- " voured by the gloom, they would not have strove to plunge " their daggers in my heart, as the same persons, in open day, " and before your eyes, almost killed me with their wooden " weapons? How! You, who are my professed enemy; you, " who are conscious that I have so much reason to complain " of your conduct; you, I say, come to me in the night, at an

" unseasonable hour, and at the head of a company of armed " young men! I did not think it safe for me to go to your en- " tertainment; and should I receive you in my house at a " time, when heated with the fumes of wine, you came so well " attended? Had I then opened my door, royal Sir, you would " be preparing to solemnize my funeral, at this very instant in " which you vouchsafe to hear my complaints. I do not ad- " vance any thing dubious, nor speak barely from conjecture; " for can Demetrius deny but that he came to my house, at- " tended by a band of young people, and that some of them " were armed; I only desire to have those whom I shall name " sent for. I believe them capable of any thing; but yet they " cannot have the assurance to deny the fact. Had I brought " them before you, after seizing them armed in my house, you " would be fully convinced of their guilt, and surely their own " confession ought to be a no less proof of it.

" You call down imprecations and curses upon impious sons " who aspire to your throne: this, august Sir, you have great " reason to do: but then I beseech you not to vent your im- " precations blindly, and at random. Distinguish between the " innocent and the guilty. Let him who meditated the barbar- " ous design of murdering his brother, feel the dire effects of " the anger of the gods, the avengers of paternal authority: " but then let him, who, by his brother's guilt, was brought to " the brink of destruction, find a secure asylum in his father's " tenderness and justice. For where else can I expect to find " one: I, to whom neither the ceremony of the review, the " solemnity of the tournament, my own house, the festival, " nor the hours of night allotted by the gods to the repose of " man, could afford the least security? If I go to the entertain- " ment to which my brother invites me, I am a dead man; " and it will be equally fatal to me, if I admit him into my " house when he comes thither at midnight. Snares are laid " for me wherever I tread. Death lies in ambush for me where- " ever I move. To what place then can I fly for security?

" I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to you, my " royal father. I never made my court to the Romans, and " cannot have recourse to them. There is nothing they more " earnestly wish than my ruin, because I am so much affected " with their injustice to you; because I am tortured to the " soul, and fired with indignation, to see you dispossessed of so " many cities and dominions; and lately of the maritime coasts " of Thrace. They cannot flatter themselves with the hopes of " ever making themselves masters of Macedonia as long as you

" or I am in being. They are sensible, that, should I die by my " brother's guilt, or age bring you to the grave, or they not " wait the due course of nature, that then the king and king- " dom will be at their disposal.

" Had the Romans left you the possession of some city or " territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, I possibly might " have had some opportunity of retiring to it. But, will it be " answered, I shall find a sufficiently powerful protection in the " Macedonians? You yourself, royal father, saw with what ani- " mosity and virulence the soldiers attacked me in the battle. " What was wanting for my destruction, but swords of steel? " However, the arms they wanted my brother's guests assumed " in the night. What shall I say of a great part of the princi- " pal persons of your court, who ground all their hopes on the " Romans, and on him who is all powerful with them? They " are not ashamed to prefer him not only to me, who am his " elder brother, but, I might almost say it, to you, who are " our king and father. For they pretend it is to him you are " obliged for the senate's remitting you some of those things " which they otherwise would have required: it is he who now " checks the Romans and prevents their advancing, in an hos- " tile manner, into your kingdom: in fine, if they may be be- " lieved, your old age has no other refuge but the protection " which your young son procures you. On his side are the " Romans, and all the cities which have been dismembered " from your dominions, as well as all such Macedonians whose " dependance, with regard to fortune, lies wholly in the Ro- " mans. But with respect to myself, I look upon it as glorious " to have no other protector but my royal father, and to place " all my hopes in him alone.

" What do you judge to be the aim and design of the letter " you lately received from Quintius, in which he declares ex- " pressly, that you acted prudently for your interest in sending " Demetrius to Rome, and wherein he exhorts you to send " him back thither accompanied by other ambassadors, and a " greater train of Macedonian noblemen? Quintius is now eve- " ry thing with Demetrius. He has no other guide but his " counsels, or rather his orders. Quite forgetting that you are " his father, he seems to have substituted him in your place. " It is in the city of Rome, and in his sight he formed the se- " cret and clandestine designs which will soon break out into " action. It is merely to have the better opportunity of putting " them in execution, that Quintius orders you to send along " with Demetrius a greater number of the Macedonian nobility

"They set out from this country with the most sincere attachment to your person and interest: but won by the gracious treatment they meet with in that city, they return from it entirely corrupted and debauched by different sentiments. Demetrius is all in all with them: they even presume, in your life-time, to give him the title of king. If I appear shocked at this conduct, I have the grief to see not only others, but yourself, my royal father, charge me with the horrid design of aspiring to your throne. Should this accusation be levelled at us both, I am conscious of my own innocence, and it cannot in any manner affect me. For who, in that case, should I dispossess, to seize upon what would be another's right? There is no one but my father between me and the throne, and I beseech the gods that he may long continue so. In case I should happen to survive him (and this I would not wish, but so long as he should desire it), I shall succeed him in the kingdom, if it be his good pleasure. He may be accused of aspiring to the throne, and of aspiring in the most unjust and criminal manner, who is impatient to break the order and bounds prescribed by age, by nature, by the usages and customs of Macedonia, and by the law of nations. My elder brother, says Demetrius to himself, to whom the kingdom belongs, both by the right of seniority, and my father's will, is an obstacle to my ambitious views.——What then must be done?——I must dispatch him.—I shall not be the first who has waded through a brother's blood to the throne. My father, in years and without support, will be too much afraid for his own life to meditate revenge for his son's death. The Romans will be greatly pleased to see me on the throne; they will approve my conduct, and be able to support me. I own, most gracious father, these projects may all be defeated, but I am sure they are not without foundation. In a word, I reduce all to this, it is in your power to secure my life, by bringing to condign punishment those who yesterday armed to assassinate me; but should their guilt take effect, it will not be in your power to revenge my death."

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the company cast their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incumbent on him to answer immediately: but that young prince being quite oppressed with sorrow, shedding floods of tears, and seeming unable to speak, a long silence ensued. At last being pressed to answer, he made his grief give way to necessity, and spoke as follows:

"Perseus (royal Sir), by accusing me in your presence, and

" by shedding fictitious tears to move you to campassion, has " made you suspect mine, which, alas! are but too sincere; " and by that means deprived me of all the advantages the " accused generally have. Ever since my return from Rome, " he has been day and night laying snares for me, in secret " cabals with his creatures; and yet he represents me to " you, not only as laying hidden ambuscades to destroy him, " but attacking him by open force, and with persons in arms. " He endeavours to alarm you by the pretended dangers " which surround him, in hopes that you will put to death " his innocent brother. He declares that he has no refuge, " no asylum left, with design to prevent my finding one in your " clemency and justice. In the solitary and abandoned state to " which I see myself reduced, quite friendless and unprotect- " ed, he strives to make me odious by reproaching me with " a foreign credit and support, which are rather a prejudice " than a service to me.

" Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious art he has " blended and confounded the transactions of last night with " every other circumstance of my life; and this in a double " view, first to raise a suspicion in you of my conduct in gene- " ral from this last action, the innocence of which will soon " be evident; and secondly, to support, by this idle story " of a nocturnal attack, his equally idle accusation, of my " harbouring criminal views, hopes, and pretensions. At the " same time he has endeavoured to show, that this accusa- " tion was not premeditated or prepared, but that it was " wholly the effect of the fear with which he was seized, " occasioned by last night's tumult. But, Perseus, if I had " attempted to betray my father and his kingdom; had I " engaged in conspiracies with the Romans, and with the " enemies of the state, you ought not to have waited for the " fictitious story of last night's transactions, but should have " impeached me before this time of such treason. If the " charge of treason, when separated from the other, was al- " together improbable, and could serve no other purpose " but to prove how much you envy me, and not to evidence " my guilt, you ought not to have mentioned it now, but " should have postponed that charge to another time; and " have examined now this question only, whether you laid " snares for me, or I for you. I nevertheless will endeav- " our, as far as the confusion into which this sudden and " unforeseen accusation has thrown me will permit, to se- " parate and distinguish what you have thrown together in- " discriminately; and to show whether you or myself ought in " justice to be accused of dealing treacherously last night.

" Perseus asserts that I harboured a design to assassinate " him, in order that by the death of my elder brother, to whom " the crown appertains by the right of nations, by the customs " of Macedonia, and even, as he pretends, by your determina- " tion, I, though the younger son, might succeed to the throne. " To what purpose therefore is that other part of his speech, " where he declares, that I have been particularly studious to " ingratiate myself with the Romans, and flattered myself " with the hopes of being able to ascend the throne by their " assistance? For, if I thought the Romans were powerful " enough to bestow the kingdom of Macedon on whomsoever " they pleased, and if I relied so much on my credit and au- " thority with them, why should I commit a fratricide of no " advantage to myself? What! should I have affected to sur- " round my temples with a diadem, dyed with my brother's " blood, merely that I might become odious and execrable, " even to those with whom I had acquired some authority " (admitting I have some credit with them) by a probity ei- " ther real or dissembled? unless you can suppose that Quin- " tius, whose counsel I am accused of following (he, I say, who " lives in so delightful an union with his brother), suggested to " me the horrid design of embruing my hands in my brother's " blood. Perseus has summed up all the advantages, by which " (as he would insinuate) I can promise myself a superiority " over him, sush as the credit of the Romans, the suffrages of " the Macedonians, and the almost universal consent of gods " and men; and yet he at the same time, as if I was inferior " to him in all respects, charges me with having recourse to " an expedient which none but the blackest villains could em- " ploy. Will you, gracious Sir, have us judged upon this " principle and rule—that whichsoever of us two was appre- " hensive that the other would be judged more worthy of the " diadem, shall be declared to have formed the design of mur- " dering his brother?

" But let us come to facts, and examine the order and plan " of the criminal enterprise with which I am charged. Perseus " pretends to have been attacked in different manners, all which " are however included within the space of one day. I attempt- " ed, as he says, to murder him in broad day-light, in the bat- " tle which followed the sacred ceremony of the review. I " had determined to poison him at an entertainment to which " I had invited him; in fine, I resolved to attack him with " open force, in the dead of night, attended by armed per- " sons to a party of pleasure at his house.

" You see, Sir, the season I had chosen to commit this fra-

" tricide; a tournament, a banquet, a party of pleasure! How " venerable and solemn was this day! A day on which the ar- " my is reviewed, on which the resplendent arms of all the " Macedonian monarchs are carried in the front of the proces- " sion; on which it passes through the two parts of the sacred " victim; and on which we have the honour to march with you " at the head of the whole Macedonian people. What! though " purified by this august sacrifice from all faults I might be- " fore have committed; having before my eyes the sacred vic- " tim through which we passed, was my mind intent upon " fratricides, poisons, and daggers! Defiled in such a manner " by crimes of the most horrid nature, by what ceremonies, " by what victims would it have been possible for me to purify " myself?

" It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a blind passi- " on to calumniate and destroy me, in his endeavour to make " every thing suspected, and a crime in me, betrays and con- " tradicts himself. For, brother, had I formed the abominable " design of poisoning you at my table, what could be more ill " judged than to exasperate you, and to put you upon your " guard by an obstinate battle, in which I should have disco- " vered that I had designs of violence against you; and, by " that means, have prevented you coming to an entertainment " to which I had invited you, and at which you accordingly " refused to be present? But surely, after such a refusal, " should I not have endeavoured to reconcile myself to you; " and, as I had resolved to take you off by poison, ought I not " to have sought another opportunity for giving you the fatal " draught? Was it natural for me to change suddenly, in one " day, my barbarous design, and to attempt to assassinate you, " upon pretence of going to your house on a party of pleasure? " Could I reasonably flatter myself with the hopes (taking it " for granted that the fear of your being murdered had made " you refuse to come to my entertainment,) that the same fear " would not induce you to refuse me admittance into your " house?

" I presume, Sir, I may confess to you without blushing, " that on a day of festivity and rejoicing, happening to be in " company with some people of the same age with myself, I " drank more plentifully than usual. Inquire, I beseech you, " how we spent our time at the feast, how full of mirth we " were, how transported with thoughtless gaiety, very much " heightened by our (perhaps too indiscreet) joy, for the vic- " tory we had gained in the tournament. It is the sad condi-

" tion of an unforeseen accusation; it is the danger in which I " now see myself involved, that have dispelled but too easily " the fumes of wine: otherwise, a calm assassin, my eyes had " still been closed in slumbers. Had I formed a resolution to " attack your house with the view of murdering you, would " it not have been possible for me to abstain, for one day, from " immoderate drinking, and to keep my companions from the " like excess?

" But, that it may not be thought that I only act with frank- " ness and simplicity, let us hear my brother, whose conduct " is sincere and undisguised, and who does not harbour the " least suspicion. All, says he, that I know, and the only " thing I have to complain of, is, that they came armed to my " house, upon pretence of engaging in a party of pleasure. " Should I ask how you came to know this, you will be forced " to own, either that my house was filled with spies sent by " you, or else that my attendants had taken up arms in so " open a manner that every one knew of it. What does my bro- " ther do? That he may not seem to have formerly watched " all my motions, nor at this time to ground his accusation " merely on suppositions, he beseeches you to inquire of those " whom he shall name, whether people did not come armed " to his house; in order that, as if this were a doubtful circum- " stance, after this inquiry into an incident which they them- " selves own and confess, they may be considered as legally " convicted.—But is this the question? Why do not you desire " an inquiry to be made whether they took up arms to assassi- " nate you, and if they did it with my knowledge and at my " request? For it is this you pretend: and not what they " themselves own publicly, and which is very manifest, that " they took up arms in no other view but to defend them- " selves. Whether they had or had not reason to arm them- " selves, that they are to inform you. Do not blend and con- " found my cause with theirs, for they are quite distinct and " separate. Only tell us, whether we really intended to at- " tack you openly, or by surprise. If openly, why did we not " all take up arms? Why were those only armed who had in- " sulted your spy? In case it was to have been by surprise, in " what manner would the attack have been made? Would it " have been at the end of the feast in your house, and after I " had left it with my company, would the four men in questi- " on have staid behind to have fallen upon you when asleep? " How would it have been possible for them, as they were " strangers in my service, to conceal themselves in your " house; and as they could not but be very much suspected,

" having been seen but a few hours before engaged in the quar-
" rel? Again, supposing that they had found an opportunity to
" murder you, in what manner could they have escaped?
" Could four men armed have been able to make themselves
" masters of your house?

" But to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come to what
" really pains you, and which you have so much at heart; for
" what reason (methinks I hear my brother say,) wherefore,
" O Demetrius, do the people talk of making you king? Why
" do some persons think you more worthy than I of succeeding
" our father? Why do you make my hopes doubtful and uncer-
" tain, which, were it not for you, would have been establish-
" ed on the most solid foundation? Such are the reflections
" which Perseus revolves in his mind, though he does not ex-
" press himself in this manner: it is this raises his enmity
" against me, and prompts him to charge me with such hor-
" rid attempts: it is this fills the palace, and every part
" of the kingdom with suspicions and accusations. If it does
" not become me, Sir, so much as to hope the sceptre, nor
" perhaps ever to think of contesting it, because it is your will
" and pleasure that I should yield to my elder brother, it does
" not follow that I ought to make myself appear unworthy of
" it, either to you,* my royal father, or to all the Macedoni-
" ans; a circumstance which nothing but my ill conduct could
" occasion. I can indeed, through moderation, resign it to
" whom it belongs; but cannot prevail with myself to re-
" nounce my virtue and good name.

" You reproach me with the affection of the Romans, and
" impute that to me for a crime which ought to be my glory.
" I did not desire to be sent to Rome either as an hostage at
" first, or afterwards as ambassador: this, Sir, you yourself
" very well know. When you ordered me to go thither, I
" obeyed your commands; and I believe my conduct and be-
" haviour were such as cannot reflect the least dishonour either
" on yourself, your crown, or the Macedonian nation. It is
" therefore yourself, Sir, that occasioned the friendship I have
" contracted with the Romans. So long as you shall be at peace
" with them, so long shall our friendship subsist: but the mo-
" ment the trumpet sounds for war, though I have been an
" hostage among them, and exercised the functions of an am-
" bassador in such a manner as perhaps has not been disad-
" vantageous to my father; from that moment, I say, I shall

* Instead of " indignus te patre," Gronovius reads, " indignus tibi " pater;" which seems to agree better with the context.

" declare myself their enemy. I do not desire to reap any be-
" nefit on the present occasion, from the love which the Ro-
" mans have for me; all I entreat is, that it may not be of
" prejudice to me. It was not begun in war, nor is it design-
" ed to subsist in it. As an hostage and an ambassador, peace
" was my only object; let that be neither considered in me as
" a crime nor a merit.

" If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I owe you,
" Sir; if I have formed any criminal enterprise against my
" brother, let me be punished as I deserve; but if I am inno-
" cent, this I claim—that, as I cannot be convicted of the least
" guilt, I may not fall a victim to envy. This is not the first
" time that my brother has charged me with harbouring hor-
" rid designs: but it is the first time he has attempted to
" do it openly, though without the least foundation. Was my
" father exasperated against me, it would be your duty, as the
" elder, kindly to intercede for your younger brother; to so-
" licit his pardon, to entreat that some regard might be shown
" to his youth; and that a fault which had been committed
" merely through inadvertency, might be overlooked. My ruin
" comes from that very quarter whence I might naturally have
" expected my safety.

" Though not quite awake, after the feast and party of plea-
" sure, I am dragged hither on a sudden, to answer a charge
" of fratricide, and am forced to plead my own cause, unassist-
" ed by counsellors, and unsupported by the advice or credit
" of a single person. Had I been to speak in favour of an-
" other, I should have taken time to prepare and compose my
" discourse; and yet, on such an occasion, my reputation only
" would have lain at stake, and I should have had nothing to
" do but to display my wit and eloquence——At this instant,
" without knowing the cause for which I am ordered to appear
" in this place, I hear an offended father commanding me to
" make my defence; and a brother charging me with the most
" horrid crimes. Perseus has had all the time he could desire
" to prepare his accusation, whilst unhappy I did not so much
" as know what the business was, till the very instant the ac-
" cusation was brought against me. In this rapid moment,
" ought I to be more attentive to my accuser, than studious of
" my own apology? Surprised by a sudden and unforeseen accu-
" sation, I could scarce comprehend what was laid to my charge,
" so far from being able to know how to make a defence.
" What hopes, what refuge could I have left, did I not know
" that it is my royal father who is to judge? He may show a
" greater affection for my brother, as the elder; but he owes

"more compassion to me, as being the party accused. I myself conjure you to preserve my life for your own sake and mine; whereas Perseus insists upon your sacrificing me to his safety. What may you not naturally expect from him when you shall once have invested him with your authority, as he now demands your favour in preference to me, at no less a price than my blood?"

Whilst Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs and groans, intermixed with tears. Philip, dismissing both of them for a moment, advised with his friends; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them: "I will not pronounce sentence on this affair, from mere words and a few transient speeches, but from the inquiry I shall make into your conduct; from your behaviour in small as well as great things, and from your words as well as actions." This judgment showed plainly enough, that although Demetrius had cleared himself with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Philip however suspected him from his union with the Romans. These were in a manner the first sparks of the wars that appeared in Philip's life-time, and which were to break into a flame under Perseus his successor.

* The king, some time after, sent Philocles and Apelles as his ambassadors, to Rome, not so much with the design of employing them in any negociation, as to inquire how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius, and to inquire secretly into what he had said there, particularly to Quintius, with regard to the succession to the throne. Philip imagined that these two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perseus's adherents, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting (his brother's accusation excepted), had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father; especially when he found that his brother had so ordered matters, that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured, was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to shun all occasions of suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter; knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner; but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and sincere in all things, and judged of others from him-

* A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Liv. l. xlix. n. 20—24.

self, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hæmus, the Black sea and the Adriatic, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, was curious to have an ocular demonstration of it; imagining that this prospect might be of some service to the *design* he meditated, of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedonia; appointing Didas, governor of Pœonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to escort him. This governor was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfectly, and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions, in the most odious light to his father, and offered to serve him to the utmost, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that Heaven had opened him a certain means (for it was necessary to pass through Pœonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor), and accordingly he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the latter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey up mount Hæmus, was returned with no better informations from his inquiry than he had carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not however refute the vulgar opinion; in all probability that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the public; rather than because they had seen, from one and the same spot, rivers, seas, and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's bosom friend, was seized, and strict orders were given to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait till the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them;

and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, "not to be offended at his son Demetrius, for some unguarded "expressions which might have escaped him, with respect to "the succession to the crown; assuring him, that he would "not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of blood and "nature." He concluded with observing, "that it was never "in his thoughts to give him such counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His having projected the design of flying to the Romans, through Pœonia, and of bribing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him was the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too visibly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thessalonica to go for Demetrias, he commanded Didas to dispatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pœonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drunk the deadly draught, but he found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing, two of Didas's domestics entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

* Almost two years were elapsed before the conspiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered. In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king, and to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to him to see his old age despised; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

* A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 179. Liv. l. xl. n. 54—57.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another * Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian, and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned 10 years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed, when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought, and would, from time to time, sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition; when sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried on, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps by which it may be discerned, he used his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of Perseus's conspiracy.

The persons who had the greatest concern in that black affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome, and had brought from thence as in the name of Quintius Flamininus, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court, that this whole letter was forged; but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined," says he, "royal Sir, from several "things I have heard you say, that nothing could give you "greater pleasure, than to know exactly what idea you ought "to entertain of your two sons, and to discover which of them "it was that made an attempt on the other's life. You now "have in your power the man who is best able to give you a "perfect account of that whole affair, and this is Xychus. He "is now in your palace, and you may command him to be sent "for." Xychus being immediately brought in, he first denied every thing; but he spoke so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery upon being ever so little intimidat-

* He was surnamed Doson.

ed. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized; but Apelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that, after having resolutely denied the charge at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last gasp. All these things only revived the sorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections, to his murdered son, or to him who was still living.

Perseus being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and credit to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court as long as his father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Philip did not believe it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying with impunity the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy, and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced," says Philip, "to the deplorable necessity of wishing that my fate "which other fathers detest as the most dreadful calamity that "can befal them (the being childless), I now am resolving to "bequeath to you a kingdom, which I owe to the guardianship "of your uncle; and which he not only preserved by his fide-"lity, but enlarged considerably by his valour. I know no "man worthy of the crown but yourself. And were there "none capable of wearing it with dignity, I had infinitely "rather it should be lost for ever, than that Perseus should "have it, as the reward of his impious perfidy. Methinks, I "shall see Demetrius rise from the sepulchre, and restored to "his father, if I can be so happy as to substitute you in his "place; you, who only bewailed the untimely death of my "dear son, and the unhappy credulity which proved his de-"struction."

After this, he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus,

and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the public. Whilst Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a progress through several cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection; and had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerously ill. The physicians declared, that his sickness proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curses on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons with a shower of tears, and venting the most horrid imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes the physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he dispatched couriers to Perseus; it having been agreed between them, that he should keep some in readiness for that purpose; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprised all people. He then took possession of the crown, which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned 11 years, the four last of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he made preparations from his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of Perseus's history, which has scarce any connection with that of the other kings, I shall refer it to the following book, where it shall be related at large and without interruption.

SECTION II.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATER DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.—DISTURBANCES IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

Seleucus Philopater did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the fa-

mous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of * Maccabees. The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high priest, inspired by a spirit of piety, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there, and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, the perfidy of a Jew, called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias the high-priest made to his unjust enterprises, informed the king that there were immense treasures in the temple which were not designed for the service of the sacrifices, and that he might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus his first minister to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him whether the information that had been given to the king with regard to the treasure was true? The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans, that he could not in any manner dispose of them in wrong of those to whom they belonged, and who imagined that they could not secure them better than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of 400 talents of silver (about 50,000*l.* sterling), and 200 talents of gold (about 300,000*l.* sterling). However, the minister sent from that prince, insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the resolution to execute his commission. Immediately the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar, beseeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposits, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and

* 2 Maccab. iii.

maidens, covered with sackcloth, were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly worthy of compassion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high-priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, upon account of so impious a sacrilege.

By this time Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treasury, and preparing to break it open. *But the* spirit* of the Almighty now revealed itself by the most sensible marks, insomuch that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties; for there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore feet. The man who sat on this horse had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time were seen two young men, whose beauty dazzled the eye, and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus falling from his horse, was taken up and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him; and that because the power of God had displayed itself in the strongest manner. By the same power he was cast to the ground, speechless, and without showing the least sign of life; whilst the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now some of Heliodorus's friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him, "Return thanks to Onias the high-priest; for it is "for his sake that the Lord has granted you life. After "having been scourged from heaven, declare to the whole "world his miraculous power." Having spoke these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices, and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way, declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an

* Sed spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit sui ostentationis evidentiam.

eye-witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered, "in case you have an enemy, or any traiterous wretch "who has a design upon your crown, send him thither, and "you will see him return back quite flead with scourging, and "he perhaps may die under it. For he who inhabiteth the "heavens, is himself present in that place; he is the guardian "and protector of it; and he strikes those mortally who go "thither to injure it."

The king was soon punished for his sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great having, after the defeat at Sipylus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus, one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. * He resided 13 years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known, (perhaps to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing) and to obtain him he sent Demetrius his only son, who was but 12 years of age, to Rome, as an hostage in Antiochus's room. † During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it, Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus; and accordingly he poisoned him.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, "‡then "shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of "the kingdom; but within few days he shall be destroyed‖, "neither in anger nor in battle." These few words denote evidently the short and obscure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. "There shall arise up in his place," of Antiochus, "a man, who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, "shall cause to pass away," and shall destroy "the glory of "the kingdom." And indeed this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, 1000 ¶ talents an-

* Appian. in Syr. p. 116. † A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175.
‡ Dan. xi. 20.
‖ The Hebrew word may signify either days or years.
¶ About 150,000l. Sterling.

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nually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but 11 years.

* Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told that the usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in *right of his* mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verse 21. of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii. foretels every thing that was to befal Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elsewhere by the "† little horn which was to is-"sue out of one of the four large horns." I shall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here (chap. xi. verse 21.) the prophet describes his accession to the throne. "And in his," Seleucus, "estate shall "stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the ho-"nour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and "obtain the kingdom by flatteries." Antiochus' conduct shall show how vile he was. It is said, "that to him they shall not "give the honours of the kingdom." He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people; Eumenes and Attalus having set it on his head. Being returned from the west "peaceably, or rather secretly," to surprise his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a specious appearance of clemency.

‡ He assumed the title of Epiphanes, that is, the Illustrious; which title was never worse applied. The whole series of his life will show, that he deserved much more that of "Epi-"manes, Mad or Furious," which some people gave him.

Some circumstances related of him prove how justly the epithet *vile* is bestowed upon him in scripture. He used frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domestics, and ramble up and down the streets of Antioch. He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths and engravers in their shops, and in disputing with them on the most minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, and which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as they. He would

* Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan. † Dan. viii. 9.
‡ Athen. l. v. p. 193.

very often stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places where they were assembled. On these occasions he would sit and drink with foreigners of the meanest condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleasure between young people, he used to go, without saying a word to any person, and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouse and sing with them, without observing the least order or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to divest himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe, and in that garb would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another; and sometimes would set up for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the curule chair;* when seating himself in it, he judged the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling, and pronounced sentence with as much seriousness as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told, that he was very much given to drinking; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch; and that, when intoxicated in liquor, he would frequently scour up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, "catch as catch can." At other times he would leave his palace, dressed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roses on his head, and walk without attendants about the streets; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt him with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe for that purpose. He used often to go and bathe himself in the public baths with the common people, where he committed such extravagances as made every body despise him. After what has been said (and I omit a great many other particulars,) I submit to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of Senseless, rather than that of Illustrious.

† Scarce was Antiochus well seated on the throne, but Jason, brother of Onias, the Jewish high-priest, having formed a design to supplant his brother, offered that prince, secretly, 360 talents (about 90,000*l.* sterling,) besides 80 more (about 12,000*l.*), for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high-priest. He succeeded in his negociation: and accordingly

* This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

† A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. 2 Maccab. c. iv.

Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety and justice, was deposed, and Jason established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the second book of the Maccabees and Josephus.

* In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had assumed the regency, and the tuition of her young son, and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence.

But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, but they sent a deputation to demand Cœlosyria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these kings, and sister to the other, had prevented them as long as she lived from coming to a rupture; but the new regents did not show so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right.† It is certain, that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces from the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great dispossessed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus his son, with no other right than that of conquest. They had descended from the latter to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared, that, in the last division of the empire between the four successors of Alexander, who possessed themselves of all countries after the battle of Ipsus, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himself, and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time, till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces: that this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts, and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria, including Cœlosyria and Palestine, had been assigned to Seleucus Nicanor; and that consequently they belonged justly to the prince in possession of the

* A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Hieron. in Dan.
† Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxii—lxxxii.

kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted that it was an absolute chimera. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

* Ptolemy Philometer, being entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was, to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taken with regard to them. * The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country, and put it into a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progress, he took Jerusalem in his way. Jason and the whole city received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phœnicia, and after having settled all things in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

† The same Apollonius had been sent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people of several golden vases. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendship, which had been granted his father, should be renewed with him; and desired that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he received from the senate, from all the youths of Rome, and from persons of all ranks and conditions during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hostage, but as a monarch. The senate made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius with the

* 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22. † Liv. l. xl. n. 6.

highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.

* Jason, the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negociate some other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to the orders of his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering 300 talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts: but the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though so very hard-hearted, however lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only such particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty.

† Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with which he saw himself threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœlosyria and Palestine; finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined, that as Ptolemy was but 16, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were engaged in so many affairs that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour; and that the war they were carrying on against Perseus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of those provinces.

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate to represent the right he had to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, of which he was actually possessed, and the necessity he was under of engaging in a

* A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. 2 Maccab. iv. 23, &c.

† A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi, lxxii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. Legat. xviii. Hieron. in Dan.

war in order for the support of them; immediately after which he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with him near mount Casius and Pelusium, and fought a battle, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made so good an use of his success, that he put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into Egypt: after which, without engaging in any other enterprise that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

* During his stay there, three persons, deputed from the sanhedrim of Jerusalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his presence of impiety and sacrilege. The king was going to condemn him, but, at the request of Ptolemy Macron, one of his ministers in the interest of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as false witnesses; "an action," says the author of the Maccabees†, "so very unjust, that, before the Scythians they would "have been judged innocent." The Tyrians, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

‡ This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governor of the island of Cyprus under king Ptolemy Philometer, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country, and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the ministers, though they made the warmest instances upon that head, but had constantly refused to regard them, from justly suspecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king he brought the whole treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer. A rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his disposal! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had gained him prodigious credit at court. But afterwards, exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers, or at his not having been rewarded for so important a service, he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus' service, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidents, made him governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, and

* A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. 2 Maccab. iv. 44—56.
† 2 Maccab. iv. 47.
‡ Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 3. iv. 29. et 1 Maccab. iii. 38.

sent to Cyprus in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem under Sostrates. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

* Antiochus spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt; and the instant the season would permit it, invaded the country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but without success; for Antiochus gained a second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pelusium, and marched to the very centre of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have suffered a single man to escape: but the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him; so that he soon took Memphis, and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

Philometer was either taken, or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian: but when he had once possessed himself of the country under that pretext, he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

† Philometer made a miserable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shown himself to those who fought for him; and after the battle, in how abject a manner did he submit himself to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be dispossessed of so fine a kingdom, without undertaking any thing to preserve it! This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity (for he afterwards gave proofs of both), as the effects of his soft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch who was also his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs, and to make himself as necessary when the young prince should be of

* 2 Mac. v. 1. 1 Mac. i. 17—20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerp. Vales. p. 311.

† Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerp. Vales. p. 310.

age, as he had been during his minority, and thereby engross all power in his own hands.

* Whilst Antiochus was in Egypt, a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. Accordingly he marched with a few more than a thousand men to Jerusalem; and there by the assistance of his partisans in the city, made himself master of it; drove out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel; exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow citizens, and unmercifully put to death all those who fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought to Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which mostly exasperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He therefore besieged the city, took it by storm, and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused 80,000 men to be inhumanly butchered; 40,000 were also taken prisoners, and the like number sold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet satisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the sanctuary and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the shew-bread, the candlestick with seven branches belonging to the sanctuary (all these were of gold), with several other vases, utensils, and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch laden with the spoils of Judæa and Egypt, all which together amounted to immense† sums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed, as governor over Judæa, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty: he nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria; and bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the

* 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 15—21. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclog. 1. Hieron. in Dan.

† We are told in the Maccabees, book ii. ch. i. ver. 14. that he carried off from the temple alone 1800 talents, which are equivalent to about 270,000l. sterling.

three, the title of high-priest, investing him with the authority annexed to that office.

* Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jerusalem by strange phænomena in the skies, that had appeared there, some time before, during 40 days successively. These were men, some on horseback, and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords; who, forming considerable bodies, combated in the air like two armies in battle.

† The Alexandrians seeing Philometer in the hands of Antiochus, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them, and therefore seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void. ‡ On this occasion he had the name of Ptolemy Evergetes II. given him, which was soon changed to that of Cacergetes; the former signifying beneficent, and the latter malevolent. He afterwards was nicknamed || Physcon, or Tun-bellied, because his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. ¶ Most historians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to restore, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch, but in reality to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea fight near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to summon a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the army, and to deliberate with them on the measures proper to be taken on the present exigency. After many debates, they came at last to this resolution, that, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time,

* 2 Maccab. v. 2—4.

† A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.

‡ Athen. l. iv. p. 184.

|| φύσκων ventricosus, obesus, from φύσκη Crassum intestinum, venter.

¶ Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxxi.

should be desired to employ their mediation; to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus, with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their proposals on the morrow. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Eulæus; ascribing the calamities of the war to his mal-administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometer. At the same time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cause and origin of the war; took occasion from thence to enforce the right he had to Cœlosyria and Palestine; alleged the reasons we have related above; and produced some authentic instruments, which were judged so strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced that he had the justest right to those provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity; promising them that he would make preparations for a solemn treaty, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it. *In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes, and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome, representing the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time in the greatest afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations and kings, and that Antiochus particularly had received so many obligations from them, that if they would only declare by their ambassadors that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from

* Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. Polyb. Legat, &c.

Alexandria, and return to Syria: that, should the senate refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, should the world have an opportunity to say, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen at a time when their affairs were so desperate.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such an height of power, which would be too formidable, should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negociation. Their instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; should order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war: and that should either of the parties refuse a compliance the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

* A little before their departure, some Rhodian ambassadors arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if possible, the divisions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to an accommodation with the king of Egypt, strongly insisting on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them, and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated considerably on these common-places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words, that they had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace and contracted a strict friendship; that if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

† He said these words, but harboured a very different design; his view being only to perplex affairs, for the attainment of his own ends. The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude that it would hencefor-

* Polyb. Legat. lxxxiv. † Liv. l. xlv. n. 11.

ard be his interest to keep up an enmity, and occasion a war etween the two brothers, which might weaken them to such a egree, that it should be in his power to overpower both when- ver he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched to- ards Memphis, and gave Philometer, in outward appearance, ossession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he ept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleased, and the in- stant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometer began at last to wake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be sensi- ble of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to see through Antio- chus's designs; and the king's keeping possession of Pelusium entirely opened his eyes. He saw plainly that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it, when his bro- ther and himself should be reduced so low as to be unable to make the least resistance; and that then both would fall vic- tims to his ambition. The instant therefore that Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother that he desired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their sister, on condi- tion that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometer re- turned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus spoken from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philo- meter to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertain- ing such thoughts; and I before observed that he concealed, beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have reduced each other by a war.

* The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again in- vade them with great vigour, sent ambassadors into Greece, to desire some auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only 1000 foot under the command of Lycortas, and 200 horse under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising 1000 mercenary troops. Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates, to concern them-

* Polyb. in Legat. lxxxix-xci.

selves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preserve their soldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him, the consul thanked him, and said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies; and therefore the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides, that as the league was able, without the least inconveniency, to levy 30 or 40,000 men; consequently so small a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes would not lessen their strength: that the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings; that it would be the highest ingratitude in them to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refusal on this occasion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

It therefore was held, some time after, in Sicyone; and as the members were upon the point of taking the same resolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus, and in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby the Achæan confederate agreed to send only an embassy to those princes.

* The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he resolved to employ his whole force against them. Accordingly, he sent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preserve the possession of that island: at the same time he marched at the head of a very powerful land army, with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometer, who told him, that their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to destroy his own work by employing fire and sword; but, on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretensions.

* A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xlv. n. 11—13. Polyb. Legat. xcii.

Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions, of which he had till then been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus, with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever; assuring them that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

The time being elapsed, and the satisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hostilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country through which he passed; and there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched towards Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He would certainly have succeeded in his enterprise, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy, which broke all the measures he had been so long taking, in order to possess himself of Egypt.

We before observed, that the ambassadors who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at Eleusine,* which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but a servant of the public, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend, or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with a wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raising his voice, "answer," says he, "the senate, before "you stir out of that circle." The king, quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius

* Turnebius and H. Valesius think that we should read, in Livy, "Eleusinem" instead of "Lœusinem."

then received his civilities, and behaved afterwards in all respects as an old friend. * How effectual was this blunt loftiness of sentiments and expression! The Roman with a few words strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt.

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was the news that arrived just before *of the great* victory gained by the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia. From that instant every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he signed the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then crossed into Cyprus; sent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians: restored the whole island to the kings of Egypt, who laid a just claim to it; and returned to Rome in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there almost at the same time. The former said, "that the peace which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign, appeared to him more glorious "than the most splendid conquests; and that he had obeyed the "commands of the Roman ambassadors as strictly as if they had "been sent from the gods." How grovelling, and, at the same time, how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain, "that the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra thought themselves "bound in as great obligations to the senate and people of "Rome as to their parents, and even to the gods; having been "delivered, by the protection which Rome had granted them, "from a very grievous siege, and re-established on the throne of "their ancestors, of which they had been almost entirely dispossessed." The senate answered, "that Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience to the ambassadors; and that the people and senate of Rome were pleased with him for it." Methinks this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered, "that the senate were very much pleased with the opportunity "of doing them some service; and that they would endeavour "to make them sensible that they ought to look upon the friend-

* Quam efficax est animi sermonisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti texit. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4.

"ship and protection of the Romans, as the most solid support "of their kingdom." The prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECTION III.

ANTIOCHUS'S PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE JEWS.—HIS ARMIES LOSE SEVERAL VICTORIES.—IS STRUCK BY THE HAND OF GOD.

ANTIOCHUS*, at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see himself forcibly dispossessed by the Romans, of a crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Palestine, he detached 22,000 men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received such cruel orders, and waited till the first day of the sabbath before he executed them; but then, seeing all the people assembled peaceably in the synagogues, and paying their religious worship to the Creator, he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received; and setting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men, and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigour. Not a single man was spared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, insomuch that every part of the city streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered, and fire set to several parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the houses as were still standing; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, opposite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation; they made it a good place of arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true God in the temple, and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods.

* A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. and ii. ver. 24—27. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

A stop was put to both morning and evening sacrifices, not one of the servants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

* As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular usages; to profess the same religion with the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, glanced nevertheless chiefly at the Jews, whom he was absolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execution, and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they seemed not to have been affected with the change of their worship, or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation of religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular†, might henceforwards be dedicated to the Grecian Jupiter, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously, and ordered Nicanor, deputy governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter, as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king and his officers, or else from inclination and libertinism, changed also their religion. From these different motives many fell from Israel‡; and several of those who had once taken this wicked step, joining themselves with the king's forces, became (as is but too common) greater persecutors of their unhappy

* 1 Maccab. i. 41—64. & 2 Maccab. vi. 1—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

† They expressed themselves in that manner, because the mighty name of the God of Israel, "Jehovah," was never uttered by the Jews.

‡ 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

brethren than the heathens themselves employed to execute this barbarous commission.

The intendant, who was sent into Judea and Samaria to see the king's decree punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to join in it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the sacrifices which were offered up to the God of Israel, and suppressing all the observances of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a manner that it was no longer fit for the service of God; profaned the sabbaths and other festivals; forbid the circumcision of children; carried off and burned all the copies of the law wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God in every part of the country; and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every part of the city, and sacred groves were planted. They set officers over these, who caused all the people in general to offer sacrifices in them every month, the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

* One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of God. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father, Asmoneus, the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himself. These were Joannan, surnamed Gaddis; Simon, surnamed Thasi; Judas, surnamed Maccabeus; Eleazar, called Abaron; and Jonathan, called Apphus. Being arrived in Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised, that in case of his compli-

* 1 Maccab. ii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

ance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that * though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a just and holy indignation†, he fell upon the apostate, and killed him. After this, being assisted by his son, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner and all his followers. Having in a manner thrown up the standard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city: "‡ Whosoever is zealous of the law ||, and "maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me." As he now had assembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worship of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they soon were followed by others; so that all the deserts of Judea were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the persecution.

¶ At first, when the Jews were attacked on the sabbath, for fear of violating the holiness of the day, they did not dare to make the least defence, but suffered themselves to be cut to pieces. However they soon became sensible, that the law of the sabbath was not binding on persons in such imminent danger as themselves.

** Advice being brought to Antiochus, that his decrees were not so implicitly obeyed in Judea as in all other nations, he went thither in person, in order to see them put in execution. He then exercised the most horrid cruelties over all such Jews as refused to abjure their religion; in order to force the rest,

* Etsi omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque a servitute legis patrum suorum, et consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, et filii mei, et fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.

† God had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. ch. xii. ver. 6—11.

‡ Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, statuens testamentum, exeat post me.

|| 1 Maccab. c. vii. 27.

¶ 1 Maccab. ii. 31—41. 2 Maccab. vi. 11. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

** A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Joseph. de Maccab. c. iv. et v.

by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them*. At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar; of the mother and her seven sons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their history is universally known, they appear to me so important, and relate so nearly to Antiochus, whose life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myself to omit it. I shall therefore repeat it in almost the very words of scripture.

The extreme violence of the persecution occasioned many to fall away: but, on the other side, several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death rather than pollute themselves by eating impure meats. Eleazar was one of the most illustrious among these. He was a venerable old man, 90 years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had been one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious death to a criminal life, went voluntarily to execution; and persevering in his resolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to save his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust compassion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat; in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command; and by that means save his life. But Eleazar, considering only what his great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, answered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than consent to what was desired from him. "It would be shameful," says he to them, "for me at this age, to use such an artifice, "as many young men, upon the supposition, that Eleazar, "fourscore and ten years of age, had embraced the principles "of the heathens, would be imposed upon by such deceit, which "I should have employed to preserve the short remains of a "corruptible life; and thereby I should dishonour my old age, "and expose it to the curses of all men. Besides, supposing "I should by that means avoid the punishment of men, I "could never fly from the hand of the Almighty neither in "this world nor in that which is to come. For this reason, if "I lay down my life courageously, I shall appear worthy of

* 2 Maccab. c. vi. et vii.

" old age; and still leave behind me for the imitation of young " people, an example of constancy and resolution, by suffer- " ing patiently an honourable death for the sake of our ven- " erable and holy laws." Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech, but he was dragged to execution. The officers who attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with some humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had said, which they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breathe his last, he vented a deep sigh, and said, " O Lord! thou who art possessed of the " holy knowledge, thou seest that I, who could have delivered " myself from death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my body, " but in my soul find joy in my sufferings, because I fear thee." Thus died this holy man; leaving, by his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time seven brothers, with their mother, were seized; and king Antiochus would force them to eat swine's flesh contrary to their law, by causing their bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But the eldest of the brethren said to him, " what is it thou wouldest ask or have of us? We are " ready to lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy laws " which God gave to our forefathers." The king being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen pans and caldrons to be heated; and, when they were red, he caused the tongue of that man who had spoke first to be cut off; had the skin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought close to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilst these variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageously, saying, " the Lord " God will have regard to truth; he will have pity on us, and " comfort us, as Moses declares in his song."

The first dying in this manner, the second was taken; and after the hair of his head, with his skin, was torn away, he was asked whether he would eat of some meats which were presented to him, otherwise, that all his limbs should be severed from his body. But he answered in the language of his country, " I will not obey any of your commands." He was then tortured in the same manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king: " Wicked prince, you bereave " us of this terrestrial life; but the king of heaven and earth, " if we die for the defence of his laws, will one day raise us " up to everlasting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and afterwards stretching forth his hands with the utmost tranquillity of mind, he bravely said, "I received these limbs from heaven, but now "I despise them, since I am to defend the laws of God; from "the sure and stedfast hopes that he will one day restore them "to me." The king and all his followers were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who scorned the utmost efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner; and being ready to die, he said to the monarch, "it is for our advantage "to be killed by men, because we hope that God will restore "us to life at the resurrection: But you, O king, will never "rise to life."

The fifth whilst they were tormenting him, said to Antiochus, "you now act according to your own will and pleasure, "because you are invested with absolute human power, though "you are but a mortal man. But do not imagine that God "has forsaken our nation. Stay but a little, and you will see "the wondrous effects of his power, and in what manner he "will torment yourself and your race."

The sixth came next, who, the moment before he expired, said, "do not deceive yourself: it is true, indeed, our sins have "drawn upon us the exquisite tortures we now suffer; but do "not flatter yourself with the hopes of impunity, after having "presumed to make war against God himself."

In the mean time their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in God, beheld, with incredible resolution, all her seven sons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wisest and most pathetic discourse, and uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them, "I know not in what manner you were formed in my womb; "for it was not I who inspired you with a soul and with life, "nor formed your members: but I am sure that the Creator "of the world, who fashioned man, and who gave being to all "things, will one day restore you to life by his infinite mercy, "in return for your having despised it here, out of the love "you bear to his laws."

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance, assuring him, with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power, and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to inspire

the child with salutary counsels. This she promised; and going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty, she said to him in her native language, "son, have pity on me; on me, "who bore you nine months in my womb; who for three years "fed you with the milk of my breasts, and brought you up "ever since. I conjure you, dear child, to look upon heaven "and earth, and every thing they contain, and firmly to be- "lieve that God formed them all as well as man. Fear not "that cruel executioner, but show yourself worthy of your "brethren, by submitting cheerfully to death; in order that, "by the mercy of God, I may receive you, together with your "brothers, in the glory which awaits us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud, "what is it you expect from me? I do not obey the "king's command, but the law which was given us by Moses. "As to you, from whom all the calamities with which the He- "brews have been afflicted flow, you shall not escape the hand "of the Almighty. Our sufferings indeed are owing to our "sins: but if the Lord our God, to punish us, was for a little "time angry with us, he at last will be appeased, and be re- "conciled to his servants. But as for you, the most wicked, "the most impious of men, do not flatter yourself with vain "hopes. You shall not escape the judgment of the Creator, who "is all-seeing and omnipotent. As to my brothers, after hav- "ing suffered for a moment the most cruel tortures, they taste "eternal joys. In imitation of the example they have set me, "I freely give up my body and life for the laws of my forefa- "thers; and I beseech God to extend his mercy soon to our "nation; to force you by wounds and tortures of every kind "to confess that he is the only God: and that his anger, "which is justly fallen on the Hebrews, may end by my "death, and that of my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmost confidence in God. At last the mother also suffered death.

* Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died, and was

* A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. ii. 49---70. *Joseph.* Antiq. l. viii. c. 12.

nterred at Modin, in the burying place of his ancestors, all the faithful Israelites shedding floods of tears at his death.

* Antiochus finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus, and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous to have the same spectacle exhibited at Daphne, near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted during the whole time, answered in every respect to the character given of him by Daniel†, who calls him a vile or contemptible man, as I have said elsewhere. He there did so many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing stock of them all: and many of them were so much disgusted, that, to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refused to go any more to the feasts to which he invited them.

‡ He had scarce ended the solemnization of these games, but Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambassadors from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment with respect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed those who spread such reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, besides other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these caresses; for it is certain that Antiochus was meditating at that time how he might best revenge himself on the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

‖ Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judæa. After having levied an army he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was go-

* Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 321.
† Dan. xi. 21.
‡ Polyb. Legat. 101—105. Diod. in Excerp. Vales. p. 322.
‖ 1 Mac. iii. 1—26. 2 Mac. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10.

vernor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. However, Judas defeated him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the like fate; and as that general had been, was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation, and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

* He had squandered immense sums on the games. Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect, particularly in the presents he bestowed on particular persons and whole bodies of men. He often would throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; sometimes seasonably enough, but most frequently without sense or reason. On these occasions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should "† scatter among them the "prey and spoil of riches;" and the author of the ‡ Maccabees says, that he had been exceeding liberal, and had "abounded "above the kings that were before him." We are told by || Athenæus, that the circumstances which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expence, were, first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometer in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends, by way of free gifts; lastly, which was the most considerable article, the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously invaded.

¶ Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others arose, according to Daniel's prophecy, from the "tidings" which came to him "out of the east, and out of "the north;" for northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia which lay eastward, disconti-

* Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.
† Dan. xi. 24.
‡ 1 Maccab. iii. 30.
|| Athen. l. v. p. 195.
¶ Dan. xi. 44. et Hieron. in hunc locum.

ined the regular payment of the tribute. * There, as in eve-ry other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the new ordinance by which the ancient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished, and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead. These things occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments, which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always supplied sums sufficient to defray the great expences it was necessary to be at.

† To remedy these grievances, as well as a multitude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts: to give the command of one of his armies to Lysias, descended from the blood-royal, in order that he might subdue the Jews; and to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to reinstate the affairs of those provinces in their former flourishing condition. He accordingly left Lysias the government of all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and the care of his son's education, who afterwards was called ‡ Antiochus Eupator. After passing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, beat Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble, but to receive the tribute of that rich province and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself, that he should there find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a foot as ever.

Whilst he was forming all these projects, Lysias was meditating how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more dispatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious progress, and increased in strength by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa, seeing Judas's success, had sent expresses with advice of this to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, on

* 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

† 1 Maccab. iii. 31--60. et iv. 1--25. 2 Maccab. viii. 8---28. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii c. 11. Appian in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

‡ He was then but seven years old.

which Judæa depended, and had pressed him by letter to employ such measures as might best support the interests of their common sovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lysias. A resolution was therefore immediately taken, to send an army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo, into Judæa. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant-general; sent him before at the head of 20,000 men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem. It consisted of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consisted of merchants, who came to purchase the slaves, who, it was supposed would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay *the 2000 talents which the king still owed the Romans on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring that all the prisoners taken in that war should be sold at the rate of 90 for a talent.† A resolution, indeed, had been taken to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity; and 180,000 of the latter, at the price above mentioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them, as it was a very low price, flocked thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that 1000, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domestics, and the persons they should want to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren perceiving the danger with which they were threatened by the approach of so powerful an army, which they knew had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themselves, their law, and their liberty; and either to conquer or die sword in hand. Accordingly they divided the 6000 men under their command into four bodies of 1500 men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together

* About 300,000l. sterling. † 1000 crowns.

their prayers to God, and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, because as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trampled upon, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because God was worshipped there before the foundation of the temple.

* Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each side very unequal, and the dispositions of their minds still more so. † They agree, however, in one point; that is, both are firmly persuaded they shall gain the victory; the one because they have a mighty army of well disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, because they put their whole trust in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the ‡ law, that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire, Judas', 6000 men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheless this valiant captain of the people of God, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy with only this handful of men and to leave the issue to Providence, advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they must prepare for it.

But receiving advice that same evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, all chosen troops, and that he was marching a by-way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprise his camp in the night; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of the very same stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it; for raising his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage, he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it, and spread such terror and confusion in every part of it, that after 3000 Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together, and would not suffer them to straggle about after plunder, or in pur-

* Judges xx. 1. † 1 Reg. vii 5. ‡ Deut. xx. 5, &c.

suit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body al so, he was successful without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having sought for him in vain in the mountains, whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew at last into his camp: and finding it in a blaze, and his soldiers straggling and flying away, it was impossible for him to keep them in order; so that these threw *down their* arms, and fled also. Then Judas, and the men under his command, pursued them vigorously, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occasion than they had before done in the camp. 9000 Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greatest part of those who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched back his soldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense booty; and great numbers who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themselves taken prisoners and sold. The next day being the sabbath, was solemnized in the most religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occasion, gave themselves up to a holy joy, and unanimously returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and signal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a sensible image of the feeble opposition which the human arm is able to make against that of the Almighty, in whom only the fate of battles depends. It is evident that Judas was fully sensible of his own weakness. "How can we," says he to the Almighty before the battle, "stand before them, "unless thou thyself assisteth us?" And it is as evident that he was no less firmly persuaded of the success of his arms. "The victory," he had said above, "does not depend on the "number of soldiers, but it is from heaven that all our strength "comes." But although Judas had so entire a confidence in God, he employs all those expedients which the most experienced and bravest general could use, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! To pray with humility because all things depend on God; and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.—We are still possessed, thanks to the Almighty, of generals who believe it glorious to entertain such thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, composed of as brave soldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almost unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all those human advantages, but solely on the protection of the God of armies.

* Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained,

* 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33.

l reinforced by a great number of troops, whom this success ought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him distress the rest of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus d Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants were raising ops to fight him, he marched against them, defeated them a great battle, and killed upwards of 20,000 of their men.

* Lysias hearing of the ill success which Antiochus's arms d met with in Judæa, and the great losses he had sustained that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. owever, knowing that the king had a strong desire to extir- te that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expe- tion against the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of ,000 foot and 5000 horse, all chosen troops; and putting mself at their head, he marched into Judæa, firmly resolved lay waste the whole country, and to destroy all the inhabitants. He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the south of Je- salem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced to- ards him at the head of 10,000 men; and fully persuaded that e Lord would assist him, he engaged the enemy with his in- nsiderable body of troops, killed 5000 of them, and put the st to flight. Lysias, dismayed at the surprising valour of Ju- as's soldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to nquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch; in- nding, nevertheless, to come and attack them again the next ar with a still more powerful body of forces.

† Judas being left master of the field by the retreat of Ly- as, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jeru- lem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, urified and dedicated it again to the service of God. This lemn dedication continued a week, all which was spent in anksgiving for the delivery that God had vouchsafed them; nd it was ordained that the anniversary of it should be so- mnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of he prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them, nd resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

‡ This prince was then in Persia, levying the tribute which ad not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymass

* A. M 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

† 1 Maccab. iv. 36—61. et v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1—8. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii c. 11.

‡ A. M. 3840. Ant J. C. 164. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

was thought to abound with riches; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius says was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus, according to Appian, prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither with a design to take the city and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jerusalem; but his design having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, thunderstruck at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news were there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judea. In the violence of his rage, he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath, venting nothing but menaces on his march, and breathing only final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him with advice of Lysias' defeat, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in them, and re-established their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his coachman to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance, threatening to make Jerusalem the burying place of the whole Jewish nation, and not leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that blasphemous expression, but he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the colic. "Thus the "murderer and blasphemer," says the author of the Maccabees, "having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, "so died he a miserable death in a strange country in the "mountains."

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock; so far from it, that suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forwards impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piece-meal, and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it: "it is meet," says he, "to be subject unto God; and man who is mortal, should not think of

"himself as if he were a god*." Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he promises to exert his utmost liberality towards his chosen people; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jerusalem, which he had plundered; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expence of the sacrifices; to turn Jew himself; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in question, †"This wicked person vowed unto the Lord, who "now no more would have mercy upon him." And indeed this murderer and blasphemer (these are the names which the writer of the Maccabees substituted in the place of illustrious, which men had bestowed on that prince,) being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death.‡

Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy, was his favourite, and had bestowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had sat 11 years on the throne.

* 2 Maccab. ix. 12. † 2 Maccab. ix. 13.

‡ Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates, that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining, that spectres stood perpetually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was unacquainted with the scriptures, assigns, as the cause of this punishment, the sacrilegious attempt formed by this prince against the temple of Diana in Elymais. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

was thought to abound with riches; a
temple of that city, which Polybius say
and to Venus, according to Appian,
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drew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction
defeat of Nicanor and
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were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dis
persed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcert
ed all their projects. By the "prince of the covenant" w
may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ringleader o
the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus; or rather Ptolemy
Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy o
his own subjects when he was meditating a war against Syria
Thus Providence removed this powerful adversary, to make
way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verses, point
out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus
into Egypt.

Antiochus's first Expedition into Egypt.

"‖ AND after the league made with him," with Ptolemy

* Dan. xi. 21. † Ver. 22. ‖ Dan. xi. 23.

Philometer his nephew, king of Egypt, "he shall work deceit-"fully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a "small people." Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war, "he yet shall assume a specious appear-"ance of friendship for the king of Egypt." He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheless, soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt, with a small army in comparison of those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus was strongest, that is victorious, and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.

Antiochus's second Expedition into Egypt.

"* He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of "the province," Egypt, "and he shall do that which his fa-"thers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers; he shall scat-"ter among them," his troops, "the prey, and spoil, and "riches; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the "strong holds, even for a time."

"† And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the "king of the south," of Egypt, "with a great army; and the "king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very "great and mighty army, but he shall not stand; for they "shall forecast devices against him."

"‡ Yea, they that feed of the portion of his," the king of Egypt's, "meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall over-"flow; and many shall fall down slain."

In these three verses appear the principal characters of Antiochus's second expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to practise with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, the instant the season would permit. "|| Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, "with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy. "——And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt: but "Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded

* Dan. xi. 24. † Ver. 25. ‡ Ver. 26.
|| 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18, 19.

" to death.——Thus they got the strong cities in the land o
" Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof."

Daniel, some verses after, is more minute in his prophecy o this event.

* " And at the time of the end shall the king of the south " push at him," Ptolemy is here hinted at, " and the king of " the north," Antiochus, " shall come against him *like a whirl-* " wind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many *ships*, " and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and " pass over."

† " He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many coun- " tries shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his " hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of " Ammon."

‡ " He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, " and the land of Egypt shall not escape."

‖ " But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and " silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt," &c.

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the historian

¶ Diodorus relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt with an astonishing rapidity, and did that ** " which his forefathers had not done, nor his fa- " thers' fathers."

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at first treated him with kindness, had but one table with him, seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key of it; for Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him.—†† " They " that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him."

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time; the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews obliging him to march against them.

* Dan. xi. 40. † Ver. 41. ‡ Ver. 42.
‖ Ver. 43. ¶ In Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.
** Dan. xi. 24. †† Ver. 26.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometer for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Evergetes his younger brother to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

Antiochus's third Expedition into Egypt.

"And* both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief; and "they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper; "for yet the end shall be at the time appointed."

"† Then shall he," Antiochus, "return into his land with "great riches."

Antiochus's third expedition could scarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometer: ‡ *Per honestam speciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.* After having overcome the Alexandrians in a sea-fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria: but finding the inhabitants made a strong opposition, he was contented with making himself master of Egypt again in the name of his nephew, in whose defence he pretended to have drawn the sword: ‖*Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat.* They were then at Memphis, ate at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have his nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere show and outside, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew: ¶ *Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat, ut mox victorem aggrederetur;* and the nephew, who saw through his design, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus*, strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither succeeded in deceiving the other: nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

Antiochus's fourth Expedition into Egypt.

"** At the time appointed he shall return, and come to-

* Dan. xi. 27.
† Ver. 28.
‡ Liv. l. xliv. n. 19.
‖ Liv. l. xlv. n. 11. Hieron. in Dan.
¶ Liv. ibid.
** Dan. xi. 29.

" ward the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the
" latter."

" * For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: there-
" fore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation
" against the holy covenant."

Advice being brought Antiochus that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the mask, and declared *publicly* that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself; and, to support his pretensions, " he returned towards the south," that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before. † As he was advancing forward to besiege Alexandria, Popilius, and the other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships (for this the Hebrew word Chittim signifies), which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but " with the utmost reluctance, and made the city and *temple* " of Jerusalem feel the dire effects of his indignation," as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye-witness to this event, would it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

II. *Cruel Persecution exercised by Antiochus against the Jews, and foretold by the Prophet Daniel.*

I have mentioned and explained in another place the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and those of his four successors.

" ‡ Behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of " the whole earth, and touched not the ground."—Could it have been possible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conquests? " The || he goat waxed very great, and " when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it " came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven." These are Alexander's four successors. " ¶ And out of " one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceed-" ing great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward " the pleasant land." This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories towards the south and the east, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes

* Dan. xi. 30. † Liv. l. xlv. n. 10. ‡ Dan. viii. 5.
|| Ver. 8. ¶ Ver. 9.

proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

" * And it waxed great," the horn, " even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground and stamped upon them.—† Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host," to God, " and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.——‡ And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice, by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered."

Daniel gives still greater extent to the same prophecy in his 11th chapter.

" || His heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits.—He shall return, and have indignation against the holy covenant."

¶ During the siege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About 40,000 ** men were killed, and the same number sold as slaves, in the compass of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures, and rich ornaments.

†† After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judæa, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly, Apollonius made dreadful havoc in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

" ‡‡ He shall return, and have intelligence with them that " forsake the holy covenant.——And arms shall stand on his " part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and " shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the " abomination that maketh desolate.——And such as do wick- " edly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries," &c.

* Dan. viii. 10. † Ver. 11.
‡ Dan. viii. 12. || Dan. xi 28. 30.
¶ 1 Maccab. i. 21—24. et ii. 5. 21. Joseph. Lib. de Maccab. &c.
** We are told in the Maccabees that it was twice this number.
†† 1 Maccab. i. 30—34.
‡‡ Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32.

* Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law. Having published an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his statue in it. They *raised* in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer sacrifices, and eat of meat sacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, seemed to comply in all things required from them, and even prompted others to countenance their base apostacy.

" † And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he," (Antiochus) " corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do " know their God, shall be strong and do exploits." This manifestly points at old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.

" ‡ And they that understand among the people shall instruct " many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by " captivity, and by spoil many days." This relates chiefly to Mattathias and his sons.

" ‖ Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a " little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries." Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost universally abandoned religion, with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave their arms no otherwise than as a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

" ¶ And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, " and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of " the end; because it is yet for a time appointed." The sufferings and death of those who stedfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

" †† And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall " exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and " shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and " shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that " is determined, shall be done."

" ‡‡ Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the

* 1 Maccab. i. xliii. &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7, &c. vi. 1, &c.
† Dan. xi. 32. ‡ Ver. 33. ‖ Ver. 34. ¶ Ver. 35.
** Ver. 36. †† Ver. 37.

" desire of women, nor regard any god; for he shall magnify " himself above all."

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the Jews, and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was satisfied.

* " But tidings out of the east, and out of the north, shall " trouble him; therefore he shall go forth with great fury to " destroy, and utterly to make away many."

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the east, and Artaxias king of Armenia to the north, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke. Tacitus † tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. Before ‡ he set out for the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates, he gave Lysias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his absence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle other nations in their country.

" || He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace," [¶ in Apadno] " between the seas in the glorious holy mountain" [of Zabi]; " yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." This verse, which is translated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words Apadno and Zabi, which are not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up these kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined that this verse alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount Zabi, doubtless the same with Taba**, where,

* Dan. xi. 44.

† Antiochus demere superstitionem, et mores, Græcorum dare adnixus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam ea tempestate Arsaces defecerat. Tacit. l. v. c. 8.

‡ 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39 || Dan. xi. 45.

¶ N. B.—The words between the crotchets in this verse are not in our English translation of the bible.

** Taba, according to Polybius, was in Persia; and in Paretacena, according to Quintius Curtius.

according to * Polybius, he died, and that there he "shall come "to his end," being abandoned by God, and having none to "help him." We have seen how he expired in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance, which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and several interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another sense, as alluding to antichrist. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most sensible, as well as most expressive types of that enemy of Christ Jesus and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us, whilst we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiously struck, to see the justness and accuracy, with which the prophet traces the principal characteristics of a king whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reason the holy spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a transient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells so long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretel a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depended on so many arbitrary circumstances! how manifestly did the spirit, which presented futurity to his view, show it him as present, and in as clear a light as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the scriptures, and, by a necessary consequence, the certainty of the christian religion, become, by such proofs, in a manner palpable and self-evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so indisputable a manner as this. † Porphyry, the professed enemy of the christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon day. However, he took another course in order to undermine the authority of the scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to show, in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel happened exactly as foretold by that prophet; and

* Polyb. in excerp. Vales. p. 145.

† Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A. D. 233, and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the christian religion.

he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened; and that this work must certainly have been written by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the christians and heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews, whose evidence could not be suspected nor disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the christian religion than the heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which providence had appointed them the depositaries and guardians, was so prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in it. What idea would they then have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books in them? Such are the witnesses who attested the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious? "* Thy testimonies are very sure—O Lord, for ever."

* Psal. xciii. 5.

BOOK XIX.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THIS nineteenth book contains three articles. In the first, the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burned in the year of the world 3858, and includes something more than 2 years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almost 100 years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also 100 years from the 20th year of Ptolemæus Philometer, till the expulsion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826 to 3837.

SECTION I.

PERSEUS PREPARES FOR WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS.—HE ENDEAVOURS A RECONCILIATION WITH THE ACHÆANS.

THE death of Philip * happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to pre-

A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 178. Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Oros. l. iv. c. 20.

pare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already began to put it in execution; which was, to bring a considerable body of troops, both horse and foot, from European Sarmatia, part of Poland. Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce: they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After having passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardadians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate; because being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occasion for making irruptions into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it. If it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat, in seeing himself delivered from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befel them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negociating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death, and to assure himself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Bastarnæ * had pursued their route, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprise. The senate, without making any further inquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages

* A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. Friensheim in Liv.

at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube frozen over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

It was known at Rome, that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the † Dolopians, who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphos, upon pretence of consulting the oracle, but in reality, it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negociate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states through which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the slaves who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desired to make his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who

† Dolopia was a region of Thessaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded, that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition till time should explain whether their fears were just or not; that if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough when that appeared, to re-establish commerce with them; without which, re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

Arcon, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove that such terrors were without foundation; that the question was not the making a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to break with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving; that that prince could not but be assured that in case of war against the Romans the league would not fail to declare for them. "But," added he, "whilst the peace subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable "to suspend them, and to let them sleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter, he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence used such effectual means that they were refused audience.

The ambassadors sent by the senate into Macedonia reported, at their return, that they could not get access, to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; a double evasion equally false; that for the rest, it appeared plainly that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestic divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vast disorders; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war, that is to say,

by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased as much as possible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince incessantly solicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and those of his own dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary Eumenes had rendered himself amiable by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in governing his subjects; and by his generous propensity to do good, and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state whose origin was wholly recent, and which they had seen take birth; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

Perseus * was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and in separating them from the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribands to every soldier and seaman who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome in favour of the

* Polyb. Legat. 40, 41.

Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take the advantage of their resentment against Rome, to attach them to himself.

* The Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expressly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, that besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perseus; that that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans, as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession; that the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the sight and under the conduct of his father, and had since much exercised himself in different enterprises against his neighbours; that he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia, without seeming to have any sort of merit to support such credit, except his enmity for the Romans; that he was upon as good terms with powerful kings; that he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias; that he had found means to engage the Bœotians in his interest, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance of the Achæan confederates; that it was to Perseus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domestic troubles, and not to the Romans; that, supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations for war himself as put him in a condition to dispense with any foreign aid; that he had 30,000 foot, 5000 horse, and provisions for ten years; that, besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay 10,000 foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his kingdom; that he had laid up in his arsenal a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, though Macedonia should be incapable of supplying

* A.M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. Liv. l. xlii. n. 11—14.

him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts founded upon the best information. "For "the rest," said he in concluding, "having discharged the du- "ty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people "made indispensable, and delivered my conscience, it only re- "mains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that they "would inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent "with the glory of your empire, and the preservation of your "friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours."

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king Eumenes had spoken, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master, and what Harpalus, one of them, said in his speech, inflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy; that as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour; that the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to the Asiatic people, who secretly favoured Perseus, but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours, and great presents.

Harpalus*, having returned into Macedonia with the utmost

* Liv. l. xlii. n. 15—29.

diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not sorry upon that account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprised of his most secret measures, and began by declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He dispatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him on like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a narrow defile, where two men could not pass a-breast. When the king came there, the assassins rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without sense, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which they poured an hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who staid to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers found him, when they returned, without motion, and almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Egina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with so much secrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too soon for a good brother, and, looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches on that head, though he had at first resolved to dissemble his sense of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to poison him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundusium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who passed through that city. The king put into his hands a very subtile poison, for him to give Eumenes, when he should come to his house. Rammius did not dare to refuse this commission, whatever horror he had for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that

Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphos. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprise.

Two ambassadors, who arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shown him, and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him at the expence of the public. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As soon as Eumenes was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, excited by the new crime of his enemy The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped, and dispatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors seeing that they could not have audience for many days, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day; when he intended to give it them

in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him: that if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne: that if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consult what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambassadors declared that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they should take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the result of their embassy, and added, that they had observed, in all the cities of Macedonia through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors that had been sent to the kings, their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus, and deferred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty galleys, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities, as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed on the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred against Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother, and hoped if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt,

relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Cœlosyria with him; and that the Romans employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious designs. He had, however, declared to the senate by his ambassadors that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable to resolve for himself. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœlosyria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Massinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him out of policy from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected, in consequence, to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing however which party he should choose; and it seemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those people were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them, they lost all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government; most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their power in their cities would subsist in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those who gave entire-

ly into the king's measures; some, because their debts, and the bad state of their affairs, made them desire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own little pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other; and, preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace: because then, one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection, whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged in either party.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprise they had been so long preparing for, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said that the king their master was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that the consul Licinius would be soon in Macedonia with his army, and that if the king desired peace in earnest he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in 12 days.

The Romans * omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms. They dispatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilst they were at Larissa in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of

* Liv. l. xlii. n. 37, 44. Polyb. Legat. 63.

the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoke of king Philip's friendship and hospitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had besides a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, and were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who *had the* precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long discourse, and replied, in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. "Of this I am "assured,*" said he in concluding, "that my conscience does "not reproach me with having committed any fault knowingly, "and with premeditated design, against the Romans; and if "I have done any thing unwarily, apprised as I now am, it is

* Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse: et si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrige me et emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile, nec quod bello et armis persequendum esse censeatis commisi: aut frustra clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querela et expostulatione dignæ sunt, armis capitis, et regibus sociis bella infertis. Liv.

'in my power to amend it. I have certainly acted nothing to 'deserve the implacable enmity with which I am pursued as 'guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes, and neither 'to be expiated nor forgiven. It must be without foundation 'that the clemency and wisdom of the Roman people is uni- 'versally extolled, if for such slight causes as scarce merit 'complaint and remonstrance, they take up arms and make 'war upon kings in alliance with them."

The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last to give into it only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas, on the side of Perseus, every thing was ready; and if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview, the Roman ambassadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions, some declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation, according to ancient custom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed through a long course of time a republic, which on several occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in the province; all of which in the sequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them to make them weak; well knowing that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them by that means, than if their union subsisted. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Bœotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned to Argos. They demanded only 1000 men to garrison Chalcis, till the Ro-

man army should enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the same time Rome sent * new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesilochus, who was at that time prytanis (the principal magistrate was so called,) had prepared the people, by representing to them, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impressions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans in regard to their fidelity; so that upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they showed them a fleet of 40 ships entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprise was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied with so distinguished a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Marcius, sent ambassadors to Rome, to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference. He dispatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators only till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take.—"If, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us, they attack "me, you will be," said he, "the mediators between the two "nations. All the world is interested in their continuing to live "in peace, and it behoves none more than you to endeavour "their reconciliation. Defenders not only of your own, but the "liberty of all Greece, the more zeal and ardour you have for "so great a good, the more ought you to be upon your guard "against whomsoever should attempt to inspire you with differ-"ent sentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain means "† to reduce Greece into slavery, is to make it dependent "upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have "recourse to." The ambassadors were received with great respect, but were answered, that in case of war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing

* Liv. l. xlii. n. 45. Polyb. Legat. 64—68.

† Cum cæterorum id interesse, tum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant, quæ serva atque obnoxia fore, si nullus alio fit quam ad Romanos respectus. Liv.

of them in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors were also sent into Bœotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied, only a few* small cities separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcius and Atilius, at their return to Rome, reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon the address of their stratagem to deceive Perseus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their success in dissolving the general assembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed great satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon dexterity in negociation; but the old senators who had imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said they did not see the Roman character sustained in such dealing: that their ancestors relying more upon true valour than fraud, used to make war openly, and not in disguise and under cover; that such unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy than conquer him with open force: that indeed stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour, but that a victory obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was tried as near as possible, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victors' superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the ancient senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate which preferred the useful to the honourable were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius was sent again with some galleys into Greece, to regulate affairs as he should think most consistent with the service of the public, and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa, lest, upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same

* Coronæa and Haliartus.

things which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with 45 galleys from Cephalonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land forces.

SECTION II.

LICINIUS AND PERSEUS TAKE THE FIELD.—THE LATTER HAS AT FIRST CONSIDERABLY THE ADVANTAGE.

THE consul Licinius*, after having offered vows to the gods in the capitol, set out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest every particular might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of curiosity to see the general to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republic was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage, of their generals. "What mortal," said they, "can know the fate of a "consul at his departure; whether we shall see him with his "victorious army return in triumph to the capitol, from "whence he sets out, after having offered up his prayers to "the gods, or whether the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians, that of Philip, who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, from his succession to the crown, a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts the citizens conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not

* A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 171.

think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes, or as colonels or brigadiers, and went with him; so did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundusium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of his ambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word to suffer every thing supportable for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction: that if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had lost, but to render him formidable to those who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted that by making cession of a part, he must determine to lose all his kingdom: that it was neither money nor land that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire: that they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions: that they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories, contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa: that they had driven Antiochus and his son beyond mount Taurus: that there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head against the Romans; that prudence required Perseus, whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider with himself, whether by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask, as a favour of the Romans, permission to retire and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of having survived his glory and empire; or whether he would choose to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage, and in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke: that it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy: besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having

opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp the crown, to resign it meanly to strangers, who endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious than to give up empire without resistance, nor more laudable than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. "Since you think it so necessary," said the king, "let "us make war then with the help of the gods." He gave orders at the same time to his generals, to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to 39,000 foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and 4000 horse. It was agreed, that since the army Alexander the great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

It was 26 years since Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars Macedonia had supported against the Thracians their neighbours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, had long before formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we are now speaking of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, and from thence, having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but that design a sudden death had prevented him from putting into execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him, and at the same time marched troops into Greece, to take possession of the strongest places; that afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews, and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negociating a reconciliation. He compared the consuls' army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his sense, was much superior to the other, not

only in the number and valour of his troops, but in ammunition and provisions of war, laid up with infinite care during a great number of years. "It remains therefore, Macedonians," said he in concluding, "only to act with the same courage your ancestors showed, when, having triumphed over all Europe, they crossed into Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests than those of the universe. You are not now to carry your arms to the extremities of the east, but to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my father, they covered that unjust war with the false pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the present they undertake, without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation should have arms for its defence; for you may be assured, if you refuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver up your arms with your king and his kingdom to them."

At these words the whole army, which had expressed no immoderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the occasions of his army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages for the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of Mount Œta; the consul's was at Gomphi in Thessaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impracticable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus; Phileteres, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Atta-

lus joined the consul with 4000 foot and 1000 horse. They had left Athenæus with 2000 foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies sent also other troops, though in numbers sufficiently inconsiderable, and some galleys. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes, that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprise and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made among his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without opposition, thought it advisable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, Eumenes and Attalus being present, a courier came in upon the spur, and said the enemy were very near with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and 100 horse detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a small half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light-armed soldiers. He had scarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the same hour, Perseus advanced with all his troops to the same place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place; the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their intrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the Romans

would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was begun, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans they assured themselves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about 1000 paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed foot, towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which flew nearer than usual, and was raised by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the first who brought the news could scarce find belief that the enemy was so near; because for several days before they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun at that time was just rising. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn his troops at less than 500 paces from the consul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horse of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king kept the centre with the horse that always attended his person: before whom were placed the slingers and archers, to about 400 in number.

The consul having drawn up his foot in battle array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his entrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre, with a select body of horse; 200 Gallic horse, and 300 of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front; 400 Thessalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing as a reserved body. King Eumenes and his bro-

ther Attalus, with their troops, were posted in the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almost equal on both sides, and might amount to about 4000 on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began with slings and missive weapons, which were posted in front; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long shut up, and thereby the more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in the flanks. Perseus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, was of great service when that wing gave way; for these horse, retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed; and when they saw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatus having learned the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their intrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself, between hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, * Evander of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage rashly in a

* Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

new action that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or, if he should choose to continue the war, his first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore, having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return to the camp.

The Romans lost 2000 of their light-armed infantry at least in this battle, and had 200 of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side, only 20 of their cavalry, and 40 foot soldiers, were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; especially the Thracians, who with songs of triumph carried the heads of those they had killed upon the ends of their pikes: it was to them Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow, kept a mournful silence, and, filled with terror, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panic. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but however, being convinced by reason, he yielded to necessity, passed with his troops by favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them entrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confessed it a still greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night: for without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might without difficulty have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprised at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy: it requires no great

capacity or penetration to distinguish so gross a fault. But how came it to pass that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A notion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd: but God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail *in* the king's breast, and removes every thought which might, and naturally ought to have induced him to take contrary measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this; but the holy scripture teaches us to think otherwise, and what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: "and no man saw it, nor knew "it, neither awaked; for they were all asleep, because a deep "sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them." 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Thessalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to 1500 bucklers, 1000 cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and darts of all kinds. The king made great presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most; and having assembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was an happy presage for them, and a certain pledge of what *they might* hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms expatiated upon the victory over the Roman horse, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promised himself from thence a *more* considerable success over their infantry, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight during the night; but that it

would be easy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them shut up. The victorious soldiers who carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with sensible pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the past. The foot, on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable jealousy, pretended at least to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour and passion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward the next day; passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situated between Tempe and Larissa.

The joy for the good success of so important a battle affected Perseus at first in all its extent. He looked upon himself as superior to a people, who alone were so in regard to all other princes and nations This was not a victory gained by surprise, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own sight and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him three times in one day; at first in keeping close, out of fear in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, in shamefully betaking themselves to flight; and, lastly, by flying again during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security but by being inclosed within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself, and reflecting in cool blood upon all the consequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him, * taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the counsel of which it made him capable; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity; that there-

* Polyb. Legat. 49.

fore he would do well to send to the consul and propose a renovation of the treaty, upon the same conditions imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip: that he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself than after so memorable a battle, nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions: that if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation and the haughty tenaciousness of the Romans.

The king gave in to these wise remonstrances, to which he never was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him they came to demand peace; that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman constancy showed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary manner. It was the custom * at that time to express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was, that no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprised at so extraordinary, and, in their sense, so ill-timed a pride; most of them believed it needless to talk any further of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion: he judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty, but from a consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

* Ita tum mos erat in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis. Liv.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself happy, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means to success very ill, since after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness till his own victory showed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered in full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partisans of Macedonia, but even by most of those the Romans had obliged, of whom some suffered with pain their haughty manners and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time besieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia*. After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans gave them great trouble, harassing their troops and falling upon their foragers whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day 1000 carriages laden principally with sheaves of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made 600 prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer, called L. Pompeius, who retiring to an eminence defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance with a great detachment of horse and light-armed foot; the legions were ordered to follow him.

* Liv. l. xliii. n. 64—67.

The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new cou age, who were 800 men, all Romans. Perseus immediate sent for his Phalanx: but the consul did not wait its comin up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after hav ing made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at las broke and put to the rout: 300 foot were left upon the place with 24 of the best horse, of the troop called the sacre squadron, of which the commander himself, Antimachus, wa killed.

The success of this action re-animated the Romans, and ver much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garriso into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul having reduced Perrhæbia, and taken Laris and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Ach ans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he *left them* i winter quarters; and went into Bœotia, at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incur sions.

SECTION III.

MARCIUS ENTERS MACEDONIA.—PERSEUS TAKES THE ALARM; BUT AFTERWARDS RESUMES COURAGE.

NOTHING memorable passed the following year*. The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with 4000 foot to defend such of the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add 8000 men, raised among the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a great garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with all his troops, without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way with dreadful slaughter. Of 11,000 men scarce 2000 escaped into the camp, which 1000 had been left to guard: Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of *his army*. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate, and the more because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

* A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. Liv. l. xliii. n. 9, 10.

This was* the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors, well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially among the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions, which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not exempted from these divisions; but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority prevented their consequences. The advice of Archon one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending parties against the republic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which those were fallen who had not sufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed; and it was resolved, that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain-general of the horse.

About this time Attalus, having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be sounded; who determined in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all his power. The affair in question was to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the public places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration for the prince who sent them, Eumenes his brother should be restored to the honours

* Polyb. Legat. 74. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

It was at this time Rome * sent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprises against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king's being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how, and took it, after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having neither munitions of war nor money he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand; and sent a second embassy to him, without mention of money, and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprises miscarry; and that if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from considerable, he might have engaged several republics and princes in his party. Can such blindness be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made

* A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. l. xliii. n. 11. et 18—23—Polyb. Legat. 76, 77.

them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulf of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report * that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicions and bad reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, were charged with this embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Thessaly and were encamped in Perrhæbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the route it was necessary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perseus,† who did not know what route the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and countermarching without much design.

Marcius, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest that covered part of the country called Octolopha. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and impracticable; he therefore seized an eminence, by way of precaution, to favour his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila, might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippias, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body

* Polyb. Legat. lxxviii. † Liv. l. xliv. n. 1—10.

of 12,000 men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who advanced with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much with frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety or retreat without shame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to pursue an undertaking with vigour formed perhaps with too much boldness and temerity, and which could not succeed without a determined perseverance, often crowned in the end with success. It is certain that if the consul had had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his horse into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themselves from the bad affair in which they had embarked.

It was not without infinite pains they effected this; the horses laden with the baggage sinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants especially gave them great trouble. It was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared the snow on these descents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those beams they laid planks of 30 feet length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, leaving some interval, they erected a second, then a third, and so on to as many of the same kind as was necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end they had contrived to lower the beams insensibly that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge. He went on in that manner to the second, and all the rest. It is not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, because it was impossible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself out of danger.*

* Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

As the consul seemed then to have entirely overcome the greatest difficulty of his enterprise, Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting Marcius with the decree of the Achæans, and to assure him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good will in the kindest terms, told them, they might spare themselves the trouble and expence that war would give them; that he would dispense with both; and that, in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this discourse, Polybius' colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army, till the consul having received advice that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of 5000 men to be sent him into Epirus, dispatched him home, with advice, not to suffer his republic to furnish those troops, or engage in expences entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was he for sparing the Achæans, or laying a snare for them; or did he intend to put it out of Appius' power to undertake any thing?

While the king was bathing he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes; sent * the gilt statues at Dium on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treasures laid up at Pella, should be thrown into the sea, and all his galleys at Thessalonica burned. For himself, he retired to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. There was no passing for him, but by two forests; by the one he might penetrate through the valleys of Tempe into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter farther into Macedonia; and both these important posts were possessed by strong garrisons for the king. So that if Perseus had only staid ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul

* These were the statues of the horse soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lysippus, and to be set up in Dium.

would have had no pass for provisions to him; for the ways through Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarce sustain the view of them without dazzling. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans, therefore, not being able either to receive provisions by the narrow passes of Tempe, or to get through them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left was to open their way through their enemies to Dium in Macedonia, which * would have been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel; for in making a fosse with intrenchments in a very narrow defile at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have absolutely *shut them* out, and stopped them short; but in the blindness, into which his fear had thrown the king, he neither saw nor did any thing of all the means in his power to save himself, left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, to secure a retreat in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprised that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places, almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore of that city, and

* Quod nisi dii mentem regi admisssent, ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat. Liv.

on repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took eraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from hila.

Perseus having recovered his fright, and resumed spirit, ould have been very glad that his orders to throw his trea- ures at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships at Thessalo- ica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had ven the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for e repentance which might soon follow that command, as in- eed it happened. Nicias, less aware, had thrown all the mo- ey he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon re- aired by divers, who brought up almost the whole money from e bottom of the sea. To reward their services the king caus- d them all to be put to death secretly, as he did Andronicus nd Nicias, so much was he ashamed of the abject terror to hich he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to ave any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, hich were neither of much consequence nor importance.

When Polybius * returned from his embassy into Peloponne- us, Appius's letter, in which he demanded 5000 men, had een received there. Some time after, the council, assembled t Sicyone to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great erplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Mar- ius, had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was angerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have oc- asion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extri- ate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse o the decree of the Roman senate, that prohibited their having ny regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the enate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with is. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was ent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his de- nand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means Po- ybius saved the Achæans the sum of 120,000 crowns at least.

In the mean time arrived ambassadors at Rome, from Pru- ias, king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of erseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, de- laring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman par- y, and should continue to do so during the war; but that, hav- ng promised Perseus to employ his good offices for him with he Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were

*Polyb. Legat. lxxviii. † Liv. l. xliv. n. 14, 15, 16.

possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make such use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth, in a lofty style, the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added, that whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negociated a treaty of alliance with Perseus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint on the king's part, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side; that for three years which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniences from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages arising from commerce; that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to king Perseus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he sould make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to come into so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, all the answer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they pretended to an authority over both those people. Others say, the senate answered in few words, that the disposition of the Rhodians and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome; that when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precautions of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots 20,000 measures of wheat, and 10,000 of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome: that it was necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers:

that he wanted 200 horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to observe the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun, by withdrawing himself from his counsels, under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to resolutions taken in them which he could not approve. At length seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge among the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

SECTION IV.

EMILIUS'S CELEBRATED VICTORY NEAR THE CITY OF PYDNA.—PERSEUS TAKEN PRISONER WITH ALL HIS CHILDREN.

THE time for the comitia*, or the assemblies, to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls, who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained against his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; against Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was still more considerable, against Hannibal, the greatest general that ever had appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy, after a war of more than 16 years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly distinguished, that it was no

A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xliv. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æm. p. 259, 260.

[illegible] of the armies by faction or favour, [illegible] to choose a general for his wisdom [illegible] one capable of presiding in [illegible] their hands.

[illegible] Paulus Æmilius. There [illegible] the voices of the [illegible] than such a judgment [illegible] past services, the ar[illegible] the state's pressing occasion [illegible] Paulus Æmilius was near 60 years [illegible] his faculties in the least [illegible] maturity of wisdom and [illegible] general than even valour and [illegible] years before, and had acqui[illegible] his administration. But the [illegible] ingratitude, having refused to [illegible] though he had solicited it [illegible] For several years he had led a pri[illegible] in the education of his [illegible] succeeded better, nor was [illegible] for his care. All his relations, all [illegible] to comply with the people's [illegible] the consulship: but believing him[illegible] of commanding, he avoided appearing [illegible] himself at home, and shunned honors with as [illegible] as others generally pursue them. However, [illegible] the people assemble every morning in crowds [illegible] that they summoned him to the forum, and [illegible] against his obstinate refusal to serve his [illegible] he gave in at last to their remonstrances, and appear[illegible] those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to [illegible] the command of the army than to give the people the [illegible] of an approaching and complete victory. The con[illegible] was conferred upon him unanimously, and, according [illegible] the command of the army in Macedonia decreed [illegible] in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell [illegible] by lot.

It is said, that the day he was elected general in the war against [illegible] his return home, attended by all the people, who [illegible] him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at [illegible] infant, who, on seeing him, fell a crying bitter[illegible] and asked her the cause of her tears. Ter[illegible] with her little arms, "you do not know then," [illegible] our Perseus is dead, papa." She spoke of a [illegible] brought up called Perseus. "And at a very [illegible] dear child," said Paulus Æmilius, struck with

the word, "I accept this omen with joy." The ancients carried their superstition upon this kind of fortuitous circumstances very high.

The manner* in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded, first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact inquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely for certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering; and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to be fully apprised in all these circumstances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of them. The senate approved these wise measures very much, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprises of Antiochus, king of Syria, which have been before related.

The commissioners had made good use of their time. Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility; that the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it; that the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipæus; that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines, that to the other inconveniences, a very severe winter had happened, from which they could not but suffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from

* Liv. l. xliv. n. 18, 22. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

acting; and that they had only provisions for six days; that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to 30,000 men; that if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, hemight have acted with good effect against king Gentius; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement was immediately sent him, or be ordered directly to quit the post he was in. That after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet; that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases; that the rest of the allies especially those of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen and soldiers; that those who remained had not received their pay, and had no clothes; that Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shown themselves, disappeared immediately without any visible cause, and that it seemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on; but, that as for his brother Attalus, his good will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed, that he should set forward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted amounted to 25,800 men; that is of two Roman legions, each composed of 6000 foot and 300 horse; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had besides 600 horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to 30,000 men. The prætor Anicius had also two legions; but they consisted of only 5000 foot and 300 horse each; which, with 10,000 of the Italian allies, and 800 horse, composed the army under him of 21,200 men. The troops that served on board the fleet were 5000 men. These three bodies together made 56,200 men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia seemed of the last consequence, all precautions were taken that might conduce to the success of it. The consul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed, that none should be elected into this employment but such as had already served; and Paulus Æmilius was left at li-

berty to choose out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army. He had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen consul and general the person among them who was undisputably the greatest captain of his time. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity, instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or seniority; to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more. By a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to choose such of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a passion for the public good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner: "You seem to me, Romans, "to have expressed more joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, "than when I was elected consul, or entered upon that office; "and to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by the hopes you "conceived, that I should put an end, worthy of the grandeur "and reputation of the Roman people, to a war, which, in "your opinion, has already been of too long continuance. I "have reason to believe, that the same gods * who have occa- "sioned Macedonia to fall to my lot will also assist me with "their protection in conducting and terminating this war suc- "cessfully; but of this I may venture to assure you, that I "shall do my utmost not to fall short of your expectations. "The senate has wisely regulated every thing necessary in the "expedition I am charged with; and, as I am ordered to set "out immediately, I shall make no delay, and know that my "colleague, C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the public ser- "vice, will raise and march off the troops appointed for me, "with as much ardour and expedition as if they were for him-

* It was a received opinion in all ages and nations that the divinity presides over chance.

" self. I shall take care to remit to you, as well as to the se-
" nate, an exact account of all that passes; and you may rely
" upon the certainty and truth of my letters; but I beg of
" you, as a great favour, that you will not give credit to, nor
" lay any weight out of credulity upon, the light reports which
" are frequently spread abroad without any author. I perceive
" well, that in this war, more than any other, whatever resolu-
" tion people may form to obviate these rumours, they will not
" fail to make impression, and inspire I know not what discou-
" ragement. There are those, who in company, and even at
" table, command armies, make dispositions, and prescribe
" all the operations of the campaign. They know better than
" we where we should encamp, and what posts it is necessary
" for us to seize; at what time, and by what defile we ought
" to enter Macedonia; where it is proper to have magazines;
" from whence, either by sea or land, we are to bring provisi-
" ons; when we are to fight the enemy, and when lie still. They
" not only prescribe what it is best to do, but for deviating ever
" so little from their plans, they make it a crime in their consul,
" and cite him before their tribunal. But know, Romans, this
" is of very bad effect with your generals. All have not the
" resolution and constancy of Fabius, to despise impertinent re-
" ports. He could choose rather to suffer the people upon such
" unhappy rumours to invade his authority, than to ruin affairs
" in order to preserve their opinion, and an empty name. I am
" far from believing, that generals stand in no need of advice:
" I think, on the contrary, that whoever would conduct every
" thing alone, upon his own opinion, and without counsel, shows
" more presumption than prudence. But some may ask, how
" then shall we act reasonably? In not suffering any persons to
" obtrude their advice upon your generals, but such as are, in
" the first place, versed in the art of war, and have learned
" from experience what it is to command; and, in the second,
" who are upon the spot, who know the enemy, are witnesses
" in person to all that passes, and share with us in all dangers.
" If there be any one who conceives himself capable of assist-
" ing me with his counsels in the war you have charged me
" with, let him not refuse to do the republic that service, but
" let him go with me into Macedonia; ships, horses, tents,
" provisions, shall all be supplied him at my charge. But if
" he will not take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity
" of the city to the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not
" take upon him to hold the helm and continue idle in the port.
" The city of itself supplies sufficient matter of discourse on other

"subjects; but as for these, let it be silent upon them, and "know, that we shall pay no regard to any counsels but such "as shall be given us in the camp itself."

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shows that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticising, and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not observe that doing so is a manifest contradiction to reason and justice; to reason, for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions? to justice, for the most experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot; the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see a failing reformed that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

Paulus Æmilius,* after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perseus, on his side, had not been asleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, 300 talents in money, that is 800,000 crowns, and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced that if that island, very powerful at that time by sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundations of his enterprise. He did not think of putting those remote powers in

* Liv. l. xliv. n. 23—29. Polyb. Legat. lxxxv. lxxxvii. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his af fairs next to absolutely desperate. It was rather calling i spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports The instructions which he gave his ambassadors were ver solid and persuasive, as we are about to see; but he should hav made use of them three years sooner, and have waited thei event, before he embarked, almost alone, in the war against s powerful a people, with so many resources in case of misfortune

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both thos kings. They represented to them that there was a nature enmity between republics and monarchies; that the Roma people attacked the kings one after another, and what adde extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of th kings themselves to ruin them, one after another; that they hac crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aic of Eumenes, and, in some measure, by that of his father Philip. Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself; that after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate, of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious colour of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would soon follow; that they had already begun to prefer Prusias to Eu- menes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus re- quested of them, either to incline the Romans to give Macedo- nia peace; or, if they persevered in the unjust design of con- tinuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of it. There had passed already several confer- ences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had begun to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not because Eumenes desired at bottom, that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage and highly alarmed his jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare openly against, or to make war upon him. But, in hope to see the two parties equally inclined to peace, Perseus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befal him, the Roman from being weary of a war spun out to too great a length, his

desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was 1500 talents (1,500,000 crowns). The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service took effect, and in the mean time offered to deposit the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not belive himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus, and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewise in another negociation, which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of 10,000 horse and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horseman, five to the infantry, and 1000 to their captains. I have observed above, that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in the towns and villages through which they were to pass, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and habits; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a small number; he imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about 30 leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms, and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off, in the best terms, the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point, and asked whether he had brought the sum agreed on? As no answer was given to that question, "go," said he, "and let your "prince know, that till he sends the hostages and sums agreed "on, the Gauls will not stir from hence." The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what

they would advise; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls: adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that 5000 horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but no body dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than 5000 horse; upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far to insult them so grossly. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the 5000 horse? as the deputy sought evasions, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had a regard to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their route to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means remaining quiet about the river Enipæus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans, either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have brought no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice by which he was governed prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the 300 talents he had demanded above a year, for raising troops and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negociated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria, 10 talents (10,000 crowns), in part of the sum promised him. Gentius dispatched his ambassadors, and with them persons he could confide in, to receive the money. He directed them also when all should be concluded, to join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republic into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would

ot be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the exchange of hostages, and the taking of aths on both sides, it only remained to deliver up the 300 talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrians repaired to 'ella, where the money was told down to them, and put into hests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into llyria. Perseus had given orders underhand to the persons harged with this convoy to march slowly, and by small journeys, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, o stop for his further orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, made pressing instances to the king to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans, to negociate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and advice that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under pretence that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the 300 talents: congratulating himself in secret upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, "that victory "should be purchased with money, and not money saved at "the expence of victory."

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had resolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare war against that which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the last was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war against Gentius, and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only of 30 days. Having treated Scorda the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with great moderation, the other

cities soon followed his example. Gentius himself was reduced to come and throw himself at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confessing with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrius prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods and the temples crowded with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipæus in front, whose banks were very high; and on the side where he lay, he had thrown up good intrenchments, with towers from space to space, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes to weaken, and at last repulse, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to subsist his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprise with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the licence wherein it had been suffered to live. He reformed several things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops, as the duty of sentinels. It had been a custom amongst the soldiers to criticise upon their general, to examine all his actions among themselves, to prescribe his conduct, and to explain upon what he should or should not do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand, that such discourses did not become a soldier: that he ought to make only three things his business; the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean and in good condition; and of his provisions*, that he might be always in a readiness to march

* The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for 10 or 12 days.

upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general; that for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses, and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and inuring themselves in all military exercises; so that it was easy to foresee, that upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or to die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged, from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface * was scarce broke up, when springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection, and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp, the ardour of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises by which they prepared themselves for combat, he began to be greatly disquieted, and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius, an Hostilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by

* Vix deducta summa arena erat, cum scaturigines turbidæ primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam, velut deum dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famæ et auctoritatis apud milites adjecit. Liv.

different exercises, added new works to the old, and used all means to put his camp out of danger of insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited among the soldiers an inexpressible ardour to signalize themselves also on their side; for it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news; but his care to dissemble it only served to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general amongst his troops, who apprehended the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to peace that at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in 15 days.

To show how little he made of the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable that the Roman army which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it and returned into Thessaly, perhaps upon account of provisions; for at present they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's intrenchments upon the banks of the Enipæus. They observed, that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius with the fleet should go to Thessalonica, and attack the sea-coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipæus for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the Enipæus, as well from its natural situation as the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines

as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He kept quiet therefore, for some days, without making the least motion. Plutarch says that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound peace, and so perfect a tranquillity. In any other times the soldiers would have murmured out of ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent inquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhæbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhæbia, which led to Pythium, a town situated upon the brow of mount * Olympus: that this way was not of difficult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of 5000 men. He conceived, that in causing this post to be attacked in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take possession of it. It was necessary, therefore, to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the prætor Octavius, and having opened himself to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days provisions with him for 1000 men, in order to make Perseus believe that he was going to ravage the sea-coasts. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out; he gave them a detachment of 5000 chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea-side towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their route by the sea-coast, they advanced without halting towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhæbian guides. It had been concluded that they should arrive there the third day, before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight engagement in the course of the river itself, which was then very low. The

* The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of ten stadia, or half a league.

banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of 300 paces, and the stream was 1000 paces broad. The action passed in the sight of the king and consul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought: the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and stones upon them. The consul lost abundance more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still, and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near *Pythium*. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in the mean time was very quiet; but on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprise him. The king, terrified with the news, detached immediately 10,000 foreign soldiers, with 2000 Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence which the Romans had still to pass, before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very rude engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspence. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all sides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they occasioned so great a terror in it that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, seized with fear, and almost in despair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper measures. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, supply them well with provisions, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country which he had taken care to lay waste, and could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution had great inconveniences, and argued the prince reduced to the last extremity, without either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himself by ruining the country,

which he had not only commanded, but executed in person. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons re-animated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, assigned every one his post, and give all orders with great presence of mind; resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there were a ridge of little hills, which joining together, gave the light-armed foot and the archers a secure retreat, and also a means to conceal their marching to surround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season, (for it was then about the end of summer,) but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea-coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate on what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him, to entreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the pressing instances he made. He represented to him, that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays: that he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses, through defiles and forests as had happened in the

preceding years. He advised him therefore, whilst the enemy was in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair an occasion of conquering him.

"Formerly," replied the consul to young Scipio, "I thought "as you do now, and one day you will think as I do. I shall "give you the reasons of my conduct another time; at present "satisfy yourself, and rely upon the discretion of an old gene- "ral." The young officer was silent, well convinced that the consul had good reasons for acting as he did.

After he had spoken thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the * pioneers, covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the intrenchments without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king, on his side, seeing the Romans declined fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable † law amongst the Romans, though they were to stay only one day and night in a place, to inclose themselves in a well fortified camp: by that means they placed themselves out of insult, and avoided all surprise. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents of houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp served for a retreat and refuge; and if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment, whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers, with the consul's permission, had apprised them of the eclipse, and showed them the exact moment when it would begin, and

* Hastati Principes Triarii.

† Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus decebant esse.—Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro mœnibus et tehtorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt.—Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. Liv. l. xliv. n. 39.

how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers therefore were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, applied himself to offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed 20, one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth, he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of 100 oxen with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He desired therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before, were, first, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably, by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the second place, would it have consisted with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them insupportable pain? In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well intrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here * that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers and that of a general; the former have only to desire, and behave well in battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to choose his measures with mature deliberation; and by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he

* Divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione sæpius quam temeritate prodesse. Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.

often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Though the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging; 700 Ligurians ran to assist these foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance to support the Thracians; the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle. This puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge, the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their swords; and he saw, at the same time, that the whole front line of the enemy joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that dreadful sight made upon him, and what reason it gave him to doubt of the success of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than 60 years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the ensign of his company, and tossed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves, in consequence, like desperate men upon that battalion. Astonishing actions ensued on both sides, with a *most dreadful* slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, and to push them back with their bucklers, striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands or to turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance

between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave those such great strokes that flung upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to rush headlong like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front line being thus put into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed: but instead of advancing, they retreated towards mount * Olocris. When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered with pikes, and close as an impenetrable intrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other; which must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, given so critically, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an instant, and all its force, which consisted solely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were strong and solid and covered them almost from head to foot; on the contrary they opposed small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and arm our fly in pieces,

* That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.

and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, resisted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under a pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules was a god that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows; for it is not just that he should be victorious who durst not face his enemy; whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there also that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son *in*-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost *his sword*, which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himself and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining masters of the ground, they applied themselves in searching for the sword, which they found at last under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as stood firm; so that at length the 3000 Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut in pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight, to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled; and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with their blood. It is said that 25,000 men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only 100, and made 11 or 12,000 prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in this battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, from their violent ardour against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pur-

uit, which was carried very far; so that the troops did not re-
rn till late in the night. All the servants in the army went
ut to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conduct-
d them with torches to the camp, where they had made illu-
minations, and covered the tents with wreaths of ivy and
rowns of laurel*.

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in ex-
reme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the
oungest, who was but 17 years old, and whom he loved with
nost tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of
imself, did not appear. The camp was in an universal alarm,
and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They
searched for him with torches among the dead, but to no pur-
pose. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and
they despaired of ever seeing him more, he returned from the
pursuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all cov-
ered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he
had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the
joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other
tears and ruins no less to be deplored. The young Roman, of
whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards
called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Car-
thage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the
conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately dispatched
three couriers of distinction, of whom his son Fabius was one,
to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed
the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella with all his
horse, which had escaped from the battle without striking a
blow. The foot soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them
upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling
them cowards and traitors; and carrying their resentment fur-
ther, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great
number of them. The king, who apprehended the consequences
of that tumult, quitted the high road, and, that he might not
be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took
the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and,
to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted and
led his horse in his hand. Several of those who attended him
took different routes from his, under various pretexts; less to

* This was a custom among the Romans. Cæsar writes in the third book of the civil war, "that he found in Pompey's camp the tents of "Lentulus, and some others, covered with ivy." L. etiam Lentuli et nonnul orum tabernacula, protecta hedera.

avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers three only remained with him, and those all strangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself *safe* at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the 300 talents he had sent to Gentius king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

He was encamped* at Sires, † in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, "Perseus the king, to "the consul Paulus Æmilius, greeting," the stupid ignorance that prince seemed to be in of his condition, extinguished in him all sense of compassion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and suppliant style, and little consisted *with* the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an un-

* Liv. l. xlv. n. 3—9. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

† An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

rtunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived e name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second let- r, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his ıality. He demanded that commissioners should be sent to eat with him, which was granted. This negociation had no fect, because, on the one side, Perseus would not renounce e royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, insisted at he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of ıe Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the eet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force ıt of that asylum, in respect to the gods who presided in it, ıt he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to uit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours ere ineffectual.

A young Roman, named Acilius, either of himself, or in oncert with the prætor, took another course to draw the ing out of the sanctuary. In the assembly of the Samothra- ans, which was then held, he said to them; "Is it a truth, or without foundation, that your island is held a sacred and inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being nswered by all present, that it was undoubtedly so, "How then," continued he, "do you suffer its sanctity to be vio- lated by an homicide, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by the ex- clusion of those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer your temple to be profaned and defiled by the presence of an infamous murderer?" This accusation fell upon Perseus; but he Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom ll the world knew had been the agent in the intended assassi- ation of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he should ap- ear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify him- self before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he hould take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The ing having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest erms not to submit to that sentence. He had his reasons for iving this counsel, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order, and therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing, that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design, and fearing the Samothracians would let the

weight of their resentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark and make his escape. However, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treasures: they amounted to 2000 talents, that is, about 300,000*l*. But, suspicious as he was, he did not dispossess himself of the whole; sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest of it to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus with infinite difficulty crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair were inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He had intrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself and Philip his son to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark in order to his being carried to the consul; having first apprised him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perseus in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him with a sufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival rose from his seat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him, "what cause of discontent had

induced him to enter with so much animosity into a war with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest dangers?" When, instead of the answer which very body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground nd shedding tears, kept silence, Paulus Æmilius continued to his effect: "Had you ascended the throne a youth, I should be less surprised at your being ignorant of what it was to have the Roman people for your friends or enemies; but having been present in the war made by your father against us, and certainly remembering the peace, which we have punctually observed on our side, how could you prefer war rather than peace with a people whose force in the former and fidelity in the latter you had so well experienced?" erseus making no more answer to this reproach than he had one to the first question, "in whatsoever manner, notwithstanding," resumed the consul, "these affairs have happened; whether they are the effects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of chance, or that fatal destiny which superintends all things, take courage. The clemency with which the Roman people have behaved in regard to many other kings and nations, ought to inspire you, I do not say with some hope only, but with almost entire confidence, that you will meet with the same treatment." He spoke this in Greek to Perseus: then turning towards the Romans, "you* see," said he in his own language, "a great example of the inconstancy of human affairs. It is to you principally, young Romans, I address this discourse. The uncertainty of what may happen to us every day, ought to teach us never to use any one with insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely too much upon our present advantages. The proof of real merit and true valour is neither to be too elate in good, nor too dejected in bad fortune." Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war

* Exemplum insigne cernitis, inquit mutationes rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsenti credere fortunæ, cum quid vesper ferat, incertum sit. Is demum vir erit, cujus animum nec prospera flatu suo efferet, nec adversa infringet. Liv.

between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus * had reigned 11 years. He was reckoned the † 40th king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only 15 days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend however beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the 13 years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms, after the death of Alexander, by his successors, who took each a part to himself, subsisted during something more than 150 years, from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so much boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or to speak more justly, the example of the most vain and most frantic ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in the Circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole Circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict inquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps a presage of a victory, which either was already or would soon be obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They

* Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

† Livy, such as we have him, says the 20th. Justin the 30th. It is thought there is an error in the figure, and that it should be corrected, the 40th, with Eusebius.

re informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the tor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, ›ke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial rrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in e assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were creed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite owds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods r their signal protection vouchsafed the republic.

After the nomination of * new consuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmiıs, and that in Illyria to L. Anicius. Ten commissioners ere then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five r Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their mmission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the acedonians and Illyrians should be declared free; in order at all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was ıt to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, ight always retain their liberty, and the other, who were ıder the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and stice by them, in consideration for the Romans; or that, henever war should arise between those kings and the Roman eople, the nations might know, that the issue of those wars ould be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The enate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and land states; because those duties could not be collected but by the inistry of tax farmers, commonly called publicans; and that herever such sort † of farmers are suffered, the laws are f no force, and the people are always oppressed. They stablished a general council for the nation, lest the popuace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate o degenerate into a destructive licence. Macedonia was ivided into four regions; each of which had a distinct counil, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners for Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an

* A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. xlv. n. 17, 18.

† Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem sociis nullum esse. Liv.

assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius having assembled his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrisons should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. In regard to some people, who, either before or during the war, had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; all the rest were discharged from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magistrates.

Before the deputies from Macedonia * arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited, during the autumn, the most celebrated cities of Greece; to see those things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Thessaly, in his way to Delphos, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods with which that temple was filled, surprised him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, "that the "vanquished ought to give place to the victors."

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern into which those who consulted the † oracle descended. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon sailed for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to

* Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

† For an account of this oracle, see book X. chap. iii. sect. 4.

elebrated by ancient renown, where abundance
d themselves to his view well capable of in-
ng his curiosity: the citadel, the ports, the
e Piræus to the city; the arsenals for the
ious generals, the statues of gods and
hard to know, whether the matter or art
able. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to
tutelary goddess of the citadel.

Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an ex-
ent philosopher of the Athenians to finish the education of his children, and a fine painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting: a very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time 17 years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. To know what are the effects of such an education, we have only to consider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father: who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by polite learning and the sciences, as by his military virtues; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to use the terms of a * writer of excellent sense, never said, did, nor thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him. The first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which sepa-

* P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenioque ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, aut sensit. Paterc l. i. c. 12.

rated by a very small neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyone and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way; and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where he saw an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias's masterpiece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that "this Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of *Homer." Imagining *himself* in the capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, and to avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprised to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpicius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him, with Philip his son, into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them as their birth and condition required.

The commissioners being come thither, as had been agreed on with them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat in his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the re-

* To have so well expressed the idea of Homer is highly to the praise of Phidias; but the having so well conceived all the majesty of God, is much more to that of Homer.

gulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of 100 talents, or 100,000 crowns; that it should have a public council, composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged; that it should be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that each should have their council, in which particular affairs should be examined: and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses, out of their own canton. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them: but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual commerce with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by separating its members which have no life, and subsist only in their support of each other.

* The consul afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians. I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

After those foreign affairs were over†, Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first upon the senators, who were to compose the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent into Italy, with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better security of the people's liberty; for this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws.

* Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. † Ibid. n. 32.

They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs * succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts; the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expences; but for the good order *and fine* taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For having so many thousands to receive, he evidenced so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games till then unknown to the Romans, he should instance so distinguishing a judgment and attention: and that a man employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all sorts; and caused them to be disposed in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, statues, and paintings of the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the times of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was still more grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and

* Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.

Behind these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in pomp, was seen the chariot of Perseus, with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their household, who, shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who had little sense of the greatness of their calamity, from the tenderness of their years; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloak. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who hanging down ther heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said, that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, the favour he asks of me is in his own power; he can procure it for himself. He reproached, in those few words, his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did dot know, that it is never lawful to attempt upon one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius seated in a superb chariot, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried, by order of the senate, to Alba, where he was guarded and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned 11 years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of

a triumph; the first for his naval victories; and the other f that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had be confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He e cused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, a offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, with receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to ancient services than late fault, they would send back his s but without accepting any ransom: that the favours confer by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that th chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude an affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately fo them.

ARTICLE II.

This article includes the space of something more than 2 years, from the defeat of Perseus, to the taking and destructio of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduce into a Roman province.

SECTION I.

ATTALUS COMES TO ROME TO CONGRATULATE THE RO MANS UPON THEIR SUCCESS IN MACEDONIA.

Amongst the different embassies from kings and states* which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus Eumenes's brother, drew upon him†, more than all others the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committe by the Asiatic Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid At talus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the re public's aid against those barbarians. Another still more spe cious reason had obliged him to make that voyage. It was ne cessary to congratulate the Romans upon their last victory and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity that a prince could expect, who had proved, in the army in Macedonia, a constant and de terminate attachment for the Romans. He had a most honour able reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not pene-

* A. M. 3837. Ant J. C. 167.
† Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, 20.

trate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negociations with Perseus, of which they had been apprised, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business his brother had sent him to treat, but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand, that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached lines may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal it.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject such pleasing hopes when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal, and the rather because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recal him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered, or learned from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took the advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, that the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been improved solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it: that only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect: that Eumenes having no male issue (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was not then in being), he could leave his throne only to his next brother: that his right to the succes-

sion of the kingdom was therefore incontestable; and that, considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten by a violent and criminal undertaking what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such division, and exposed to the enterprises of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the consequence. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him at his years, into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt but such thoughts must give him horror. That not to speak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus might remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the sceptre from his brother by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same sceptre at the feet of a victor, in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured the very persons, who less out of friendship for him than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! Of what value must a sincere, prudent, and disinterested friend appear at such a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely and without reserve to him, and of being known by them in that light! The wise remonstrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly displayed the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state; and concluded with requesting, that the

nvestiture of Ænus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions upon part of his brother's dominions, promised before hand to send ambassadors according to his demand, and made the prince the usual presents. They promised besides to put him into possession of the two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him, and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronæa free and independent cities. They sent, however, an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius, but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the mask entirely at this time, and showed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

The senate, some days* after, gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour by their conduct; and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Astymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to show at first his desire to justify it. He knew that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confessed its faults; he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke, had rendered still more criminal: but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented, that there was no republic nor city that did not include some bad members: that, after all, there were no other crimes objected to them but words; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant, which he confessed to be the characteristics, and failings of his nation, but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no

* Polyb. Legat. xciii—xcix. c. et civ. Liv. l. xlv. n. 20—25.

more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity: "but," said he, "the neutrality observed by us in the late war is looked upon as a certain proof of our enmity, in regard to you. * Is there a tribunal in the world, wherein the intention, when without effect, is punished as the action itself? But let your severity be carried to that excess, at most the punishment can only fall on those who have had this intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction make us all criminal, ought the real services we have rendered you in the two preceding wars, to be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the omission imputed to us in the last? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, bear witness now in our cause. The voices of the two first will certainly be for us, and absolve us; and for the *third*, at most, and in the severest sense, the sentence must appear doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this state of the question, pass a fatal decree against Rhodes; for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed: you may declare war against us; but not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your resentment, we demand time to go and report our deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment our whole city, men, women, and free persons, will embark with all our estates and effects; we will abandon our household gods, as well public as private, and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown our gold and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver up ourselves, our wives, and our children to your discretion. We will suffer here before your eyes, whatever you shall think fit to inflict upon us. If Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set on fire, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of that calamity. You may by your resolves declare yourselves our enemies; but there is a secret sense in the bottom of our hearts, that declares quite the contrary, and assures us, that whatever hostilities you may act against us, you will never find us otherwise than friends and servants."

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the senators with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn by order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon

* Neque moribus neque legibus ullius, civitatis ita comparatum esse, utsiquis vellet inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. Liv.

the affair. All who had served in Macedonia in quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, entitled De Originibus, wherein he had inserted his own orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius * has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears, he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors of Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energetic style which characterized the Roman eloquence in those ancient times, when more attention was had to the force of thoughts than to the elegance of words.

Cato † begins his discourse by representing to the Romans, that they ought not to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy: that prosperity generally excites pride and insolence: that he apprehends, in the present case, they may form resolutions which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they gave themselves up, to vanish like a dream: "Adversity," says he, "in humbling "the spirit, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what is "necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries "us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and "makes us lose sight of the measures which a calm situation "of mind would enable us to discern and execute. It is there"fore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should de"fer the decision of this affair, till, having recovered from "the violent emotions of our joy, we may be masters of our"selves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity." He

* Liv. l. vii. c. 5.

† Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augere atque crescere; quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secunde processit, nequid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose eveniat. Adversæ res se domant, et docent quid opus sit facto: secundæ res lætitia transversum trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus.

adds, "that he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring that the Romans should have conquered Perseus; but that they had such sentiments in common with all other states; sentiments which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty; for which they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodians did not aid Perseus. Their whole * crime, by the consent of their most violent accusers, is to have intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? Is there any one amongst us that would be willing to subject himself to this rule? For my part, I am sure I would not. The † Rhodians, it is said, are proud. I should be very sorry that my children could *justly make* me that reproach. But, pray, in what does their pride affect us? Would it become us to make it a crime in them to be prouder than we are?"

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator as Cato, prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies, but continued them in suspence. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for 200 talents (about 25,000*l.*) of Ptolemy's general, and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of 120 talents, or 15,000*l.* At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians; for instead of 1,000,000 of drachms (about 25,000*l.* sterling,) to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only 150,000, (about 3750*l.* sterling).

The senate's answer, having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms against the republic, *made all*

* Qui acerrime adversus eos dicet, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem est nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, *æquum censeat* quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse? nemo, opinor; nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolim.

† Rhodienses superbos esse aiunt, id objectantes quod mihi a *liberis* meis minime deci velim. Sint sane superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Inde irascimini, siquis superbior est quam nos?

ther evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation f great misfortunes to make people next to insensible of small nes. How hard soever these orders were, they submitted to nem, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed, t the same time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value f * 10,000 pieces of gold, and chose their admiral Theodorus to resent it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almost 40 years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of hat republic; which was a fetch of their politics. They were ot for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths and reaties; that continuing free, and their own masters, they night either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them pon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any esides the Romans; but to remove, by that change, all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then, without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

I have before observed, that the Ætolians † had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lycischus and Pisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death 550 of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment, and that the estates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accusers. The inquiry was con-

* This might amount to about 6000*l.* reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσοῦς) at 12*s.* or thereabouts.

† Liv. l. 45. n. 28, 32.

fined to knowing, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been banished, justly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned, if it was just? or if not, why were those acquitted who had been the principal authors of it?

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings, but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities, but were in no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who espoused the Roman interest, after the defeat of Perseus; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners, appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand, that besides those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there were abundance of others, secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the colour of asserting liberty, influenced the whole people against them, and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those who had only the interest of the commonwealth at heart, was fully established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to consider, and treat as criminals, all who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all who should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with abundant graces and favours! We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty and de-

ency, and induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views. The virtue of the Parthians was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such as, in public or private, had favoured Perseus.

Of all the small states of Greece*, none gave the Roman republic so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it, by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to all employments, and by whose means they decided in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles; but it was in the conjuncture we now speak of the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would suffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, that they should send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus; but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, should refuse obedience to the letters that should be written them, and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the risk of their lives in the assembly: the second, because in the letters which had been found among Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

* A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 416, 417.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injustice than the other (Pausanias does not say which), complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded, that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he should name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard-of thing to condemn persons before it was declared who they were, and pressed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated instances to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had been guilty of that crime. Xenon, upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect: "*I have* "commanded the armies, and have had the honour to be the "chief magistrate of the league; I protest, that I have never "acted in any thing contrary to the interests of the Romans, "which I am ready to prove either in the assembly of the "Achæans, or at Rome before the senate." The Roman took hold of this expression, as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates, should be sent to Rome, in order to justify themselves there. The whole assembly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his son Alexander. Those princes, though irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may justly be called tyrannical, caused about 1000 of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league to be seized and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned his presence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of these exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interests of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his son. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman, for his master; and for war, Philopœmen, one of the most able

d intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors imbibed those learned lessons of government and war, which practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writ-s.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had ached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the re-blic cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate th the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had en adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into at of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cor-lius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hanni-l. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the his-ry of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendship of Po-ibius with this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards nquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman per-ived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his isons and counsels to the best advantage. It is very probable, at Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at ast collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without aring or examining their cause, supposing, without any foun-ation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had en tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, ba-shed them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was ex-pted from that number.

The Achæans,* surprised and afflicted with the fate of their untrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate ould vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were iswered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it emselves. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the same eputies to Rome, with Euræas at their head, to protest again fore the senate, that those Achæans had never been heard by eir country, and that their affair had never been brought to a ial. Euræas, in consequence, entered the senate with the her deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders e had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of ne accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish, without pass-g sentence upon the crime they were charged with: that it ere to be wished the senate would examine the affair them-elves, and make known the guilty; but, in case their other reat affairs should not afford them leisure for such inquiry, ney had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them

* Polyb. Legat. cv.

justice in such a manner as should evidence the greatness of their aversion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it. On the one side, they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles, without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more submissive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles consisted with theirs, or the interest of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into consternation. An universal mourning succeeded it. They were convinced that there was nothing further to hope for the accused Achæans, and that *their* banishment was perpetual.

* However, they sent new deputies, with instructions to demand the return of the exiles, but as suppliants, and as a favour, lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem ever so little to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved; notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared that they would persist in the regulations already made.

† The Achæans would not be rejected; and appointed several deputations at different times, but with no better success; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated instances had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion that it was proper to send home the exiles.

The Achæans, ‡ having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished 17 years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the senate; some being for their return into their country, and their being restored to the posses-

* Polyb. Legat. cxxi.
† A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160. Polyb. Legat. cxxix, cxxx.
‡ Plut. in Cato. Cens. p. 341.

on of their estates; and others opposing it. Scipio, at the quest of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. iat grave senator rising up to speak in his turn, "to see us," d he, "dispute a whole day, whether some poor old men of Greece shall be interred by our grave-diggers or those of their own country, would not one believe that we had nothing at all to do!" That pleasantry was all that was wanting to ike the senate ashamed of so long a contest, and to determine at last to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus. Polybius is for desiring that they might be reinstated in all the honours d dignities they possessed before their banishment; but be- e he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper sound Cato upon it, who told him, smiling, "Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for some miserable tatters you have left there*." The exiles accordingly returned into their untry; but of the 1000 that left it, only about 300 remained. lybius made no use of this permission, or if he did, he soon joined Scipio, seeing three years after he was with him at e siege of Carthage.

SECTION II.

ARATHES DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON.—DEATH OF EUMENES.—WAR BETWEEN ATTALUS AND PRUSIAS.

After the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment they seem- to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints fore the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen therto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this ction I shall collect what concerns Eumenes, king of Perga- us, Prusias, king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs. † Prusias being come to Rome, to make the senate and Ro- an people his compliments of congratulation upon the good ccess of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dig- ty by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies ap- ointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his ead shaved, and with the cap, habit, shoes, and stockings of slave made free; and saluting the deputies, "you see," said e, "one of your freedmen ready to fulfil whatsoever you shall

* A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 150.
† A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. Polyb. Legat. xcvii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 44.

" please to command, and to conform entirely to all your cus
" toms."—When he entered the senate, he stood at the door facing the senators who sat, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly " I salute you gods, preservers," cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that prelude. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias, of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing; he contents himself with mentioning in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before, and with some reason; for that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, which suffered, as the prince who acted it.

* Prusias had scarce left Rome, when advice came that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate some trouble. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner that they could neither continue him as a friend nor an enemy. There was reason for violent suspicions, but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him, and to proclaim to all the world that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniences, the senate made a decree, by which under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republic, they forbade all kings in general to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

† This affront encouraged his enemies, and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes had secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treat-

* Polyb. Legat. xcvii.

† A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. Polyb. Legat. xcvii. cii. civ. cv. cvi. cxix. cxxi.

d all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and articularly the Gallo Grecians his neighbours, in contradiction) the senates decrees in their behalf. That people had also ent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate id not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves ith aiding and supporting the Gallo Grecians underhand to ie utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice) Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance in) Rome, sent his brothers Attalus and Athenæus thither to nswer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they ade seemed finally to confute all complaints against the king, nd the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them ck into Asia laden with honours and presents. They did ot, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived against heir brother. The senate dispatched Sulpicius Gallus and Maius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design gainst the Romans.

* Sulpicius acted in this commission with very great imprulence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, y declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he aused all the cities to be informed that such as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince might repair to him t Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all he accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes: a iberty that set all malcontents at work, and opened a door for ll manner of calumnies!

† Tiberius Gracchus, whom the senate sent the following ear into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had married the sister of Eumenes. That prince died some time after. His son Ariarathes ‡, surnamed Philopater, succeeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came of age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never con-

* Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.
† A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.
‡ A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. Eleg. p. 895.

sent; from whence he was called Philopater, that is, lover his father. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

* As soon as the young king ascended the throne, he sen deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father ha made with the Romans should be renewed, which was grante him with praises.

† Some time after, notwithstanding Eumenes aided him wit all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria and one of his elder brothers set in his place, who was a sup posed son, named Holofernes. ‡ Ariarathes took refuge a Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors al so thither. The senate decreed that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of eternal *division* between them. Attalus, in the first year of his reign, re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and almost continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo Grecians. He died at length after having reigned 38 || years. He left for his successor in the kingdom his son Attalus, surnamed Philometer, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister of Ariarathes, and appointed guardian of his son, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom 21 years.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, his soul great, and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He gave place to none of the kings ** his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them in all the nobleness of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful that it might have disputed pre-eminence with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; still using the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result

* Polyb. Legat. cxxi.

† A. M. 3845. Ant J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. cxxvi.

‡ A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

|| Strabo says he reigned 43 years, but that is presumed to be an error.

¶ Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

** Polyb. Exemp. Virt. et Vit. p. 166.

his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondness for ıe glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more ivate persons, than any prince. To finish his character, he ssessed so fully the art of engaging the respect of his three ɔthers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, thout letting them perceive it, that though they were all of e and capacity to undertake for themselves, and shared with n in the functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in int of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and th equal zeal for his service, assisted him in defending and grandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable ncord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great ɔnour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded e famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably aug- ented it: but I shall speak of that elsewhere.

The division * which had almost perpetually subsisted be- veen Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who suc- ɔeded the latter. Prusias, having been victorious in a battle, ıtered Pergamus, and violently enraged and afflicted that he ad failed of seizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge pon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroy- ıg all before him in his march. † Attalus sent his brother A- ıenæus to Rome, to implore the aid of the senate, who sent everal embassies at differen: times to forbid Prusias to conti- ue the war against Attalus; but he eluded these orders, either y delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pre- ence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and At- alus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it pre- ented; but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome at other times would have punished it with the destruction f his kingdom. At this she was contented with sending ten ɔommissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and ɔ oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages ıe had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, ıad assembled numerous armies both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news ɔame that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was wil-

* A. M. 3848. Ant. J. C. 156. Polyb. Legat. cxxviii, cxxix, cxxxiii, cxxxv, cxxxvi.

† A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155.

ling to accept part of the conditions prescribed him, but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their route to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace, which they presented him. This treaty imported, that Prusias should give immediately 20 decked ships to Attalus; that he should pay him 500 talents (500,000 crowns) in the space of 20 years; that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, such as they stood before the war: that Prusias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them 100 talents (100,000 crowns). When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger*, son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt, to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his dominions.

Prusias † also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly considered there, he gave him instructions to demand that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to dispatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus' ambassadors demonstrating, that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses his master had sustained from him. Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. The

* Polyb. Legat. cxl.

† A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 175. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 4.

young prince having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia*, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people to his party, for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called the Hunter, and had reigned at least 36 years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

This king of Bithynia's person † had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour, nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in size but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but soft, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in mind and body; defects by no means amiable in a king, and least of all amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of the good and great, the noble and the elegant. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus: so that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner he had governed them.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians‡, but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of 500 talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers: Carneades, of the sect of the academics; Diogenes, of the stoics; and Critolaus, of the peripatetics. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking that it began to spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome who had any taste for the sciences, made it their honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration on hearing them, especially

* A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

† Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

‡ A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155. Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 15. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 24.

Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and ornament were united, transported and enchanted them. It was universally talked that a Greek of extraordinary merit, was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and enjoyments, to abandon themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses, translated into Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw, with great joy, their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and inseparable from these wonderful men. Cato only seemed sorry for it, apprehending that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge, and that they would prefer the glory of speaking to that of acting well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated under the care of Polybius in a taste for the sciences, demonstrate how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it were, he warmly reproached the senators for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city; and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be dispatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine, in which they had been condemned, was moderated, and the 500 talents reduced to 100.

The other embassy was sent by the people of Marseilles *. They had already been often harassed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now speak they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negociation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate, being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintius Opimius march immediately against them with an army. He laid siege to the city where the insult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors†, took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in several battles. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people

* Polyb. Legat. cxxxi, et cxxxiv. † Egitna.

f Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them om molesting the people of Marseilles, as they had done till ien.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in extreme onsideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the violable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the arty of the Romans. They were by origin * of Phocæa, a ty of Ionia. When Xerxes sent Harpagus to besiege it, the habitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the barbarians, so many others had done, embarked with their wives and ildren, and all their effects, and after various adventures, aving cast a mass of red hot iron into the sea, they all engaged emselves by oath never to return into Phocæa, till that iron ould swim upon the water. Afterwards having landed upon e coast of Gaul near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled ere, by the consent of the king of the country, and built a ci- since called Marseilles. This foundation is said to have een made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second ear of the 45th Olympiad, and 600 years before the birth of esus Christ.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with reat goodness, being dead, his son† did not show them so much vour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. le was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had eceived into his country, as guests and suppliants, might one ay make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fa- le of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked er companion to lend her house only for eight days, till she ad brought forth her whelps; then by great intreaties obtain- l a second term to bring them up; and at last when they ere grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and roprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards e expelled. The Marseillians had, in consequence, at first a ude war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they ontinued in quiet possession of the lands that had been granted iem, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time they settled several‡ colonies and built se- eral cities; Agde, Nice, Antiba, Olbia; which much extend- d their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, rsenals, and fleets, that rendered them formidable to their ene- ies. So many new settlements || contributed to the spreading

* Herod. l. i. c. 164. Justin. l. xliii. c. 3. † Ibid. c. 4.
‡ Strab. p. 180. || Justin. l. xliij. c. 4.

of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learned to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives*. Hence so surprising an alteration ensued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been said, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

† The inhabitants of the new city made very wise laws for its policy and government, which was aristocratical, that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of 600 senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number 15 were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies in quality of principal magistrates.

‡ The right of hospitality was in singular estimation amongst the Marseillians, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might have been for introducing sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double-dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

They piqued themselves || especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality. The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed 100 pieces of gold, that is to say, very near 100 pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus ¶, who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city," says he, "stedfastly "retaining the** ancient severity of manners, excluded from the "theatre those comedians whose pieces generally turn upon the "subject of unlawful love." The reason given for this maxim

* Adeo magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur. Justin.

† Strab. l. iv. p. 179.

‡ Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6.

|| Strab. l. iv. p. 181.

¶ Lib. ii. c. 6.

** Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est: nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. Lest," adds the author, "a familiarity with such sort of shows should make the people more apt to imitate them." They would not admit in funeral ceremonies, those indecent ars and lamentations with which they are generally attend-l, and ordered them to cease the same day by a domestic sa-ifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of e deceased*: "for is it consistent to abandon ourselves to immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the Divinity for not having thought fit to share his immortality with us?"

Tacitus has a passage upon the city of Marseilles highly in s praise; it is in his life of Julius Agricola his father-in law. fter having spoken of the excellent education he had receiv-l from the care and tender affection of † Julia Procilla his mo-ier, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the ost early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sci-nces that suited his birth and age, he adds, "what had pre-served him from the dangers and disorders, to which youth in general are exposed, was, besides his own genius and dis-position, the good fortune of having from his infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners of whose inhabi-tants the politeness of the Greeks, and the simplicity and re-serve of the provinces, were happily united." *Arcebat cum b illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque na-turam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græca comitate et provinciali par-imonia mistum ac bene compositum.*

From what I have said may be seen, that Marseilles was be-come a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, nd at the same time for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, phi-osophy, physics, mathematics, law, fabulous theology, and all inds of literature, were publicly professed there. This city roduced ‡ the most ancient of the learned men of the west, I nean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who ived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alex-ander the Great.

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and scien-ces with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Augustus), the young nobility of

* Etinim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri noluerit?

† Mater Julia Procilla fuit raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatis, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam, adolescentiamque transegit. Tacit. in Agricol. c. iv.

‡ Voss. in Histor. Græc.

Rome went to Marseilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itself; which is saying a great deal. We have already seen that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marseillians distinguished themselves no less by the wisdom of their government, than by their capacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republic. * "I am assured," says he, that not only in Greece, but in all other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wise polity established at Marseilles. That city, so remote from the country, manners, and language of all other Greeks situated in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous nations that surround it on all sides, is so prudently directed by the counsels of its elders, that it is more easy to praise, than imitate, the wisdom of its government."

They laid it down as a fundamental † rule of their politics, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

Justin ‡ relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls had taken and burned Rome, they deplored that disaster of their allies as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either of the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered, as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The || Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the public

* Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Græciæ sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguaque divisa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluator, sic optimatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint, quam emulari. Orat. pro Flacco. n. 63.

† Strab. l. iv. p. 180. ‡ Justin. l. xliii. c. 6.

|| Liv. l. xxi. n. 20, 25, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

ows. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the successes which they experienced in the first years of the ar, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, t being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observ- a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. æsar*, against whom they had shut their gates, caused the senators, who were in supreme authority, to come to his mp, and represented to them, that he was sorry the war ould begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to bmit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves indly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives ost capable of persuading them. After having made their reort to the senate they returned into the camp, and gave Cæ- r this answer†: that they knew the Roman people were diided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to deterine which had the right on their side; that the two heads of ese parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at e same time its friends and benefactors: that for this reason, bliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incument upon them neither to assist, nor receive the one into their ity or ports, to the prejudice of the other. They suffered a ng siege, in which they showed all possible valour; but at ngth, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, by e want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However nraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not efuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to he glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds ne of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected n this place part of those favourable reports antiquity makes f it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which beides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other ountries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and

* Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. i.

† Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui judicii, neque suarum virium discernere utra pars justorem habeat causam: principes vero earum esse partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem patronos civitatis—Paribus eorum beneficiis, parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, et neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portibus recipere.

without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

SECTION III.

ANDRISCUS, PRETENDED SON OF PERSEUS, CAUSES HIMSELF TO BE PROCLAIMED KING OF MACEDONIA.

FIFTEEN or sixteen years * after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramytta, a city of Troas in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed; pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramytta, that in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans, some shoot of the royal line might remain: that after the death of Perseus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and intrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing she was to deliver him (Philip) as soon as he should attain to the years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time; pressing him to quit the country before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took the advantage of

* A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. Epitom. Liv. l. xlviii—l. Zonar ex Dione, l. i. c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 14.

e negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. aving found means to raise a considerable army amongst the hracians, who entered into his views for the sake of deliver- g themselves, by his means, from the Roman yoke, he made imself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and ssumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this rst conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, nd subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Ro- nans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither, and appease his tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that com- nission. He had indeed the art of managing men's minds, and f bringing them into his measures by persuasion; and if he hould find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was ery capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing t with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been ully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thes- aly, he gave the senate advice of them; and, without loss of time, visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

* However, it was well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a speedy support. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andriscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elated with this success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations without any moderation or reserve; as if the being truly a king consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscations of estates and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that

* A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had succeeded Juventius. Andriscus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriscus gained an advantage sufficiently considerable in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriscus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andriscus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above 25,000 men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory but to seize Andriscus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans. Andriscus was sent to the Romans.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perseus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus: he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again, and set himself up as the son of Perseus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterwards surnamed Scrofa, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa Porcos.*

SECTION IV.

TROUBLES IN ACHAIA.—METELLUS AND MUMMIUS SETTLE THOSE TROUBLES.—THE LATTER TAKES CORINTH, AND DESTROYS IT.

METELLUS,* after having pacified Macedonia, continued here some time. Great commotions had arisen amongst the Achæans of the league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those who held the first offices. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might cease till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he nor Diæus, who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth. Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission. The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that end, to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea, near mount Œta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners into Achaia; but instructed them to complain with

* A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C 147. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 421.—428. Polyb. Legat. cxliii, cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. p. 431.—189. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear t bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur di grace with the Romans; a misfortune it was in their power t avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Ca thage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act wi caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. Th commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the seditio to Rome: they carried him back with them to Egium, where th diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spok in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let sli a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment o the commissioners, or excused it better than the Achæans them selves would have done; and were as reserved in regard to th cities they had been for separating from the league. They con fined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their firs fault, nor to irritate the Romans any further; and to leav Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances wer extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assem bly: but Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out o the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in eac city, blew up the flame of discord; insinuating, that the lenit of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of thei affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several en gagements, and from the fear they were in lest the Achæa league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficien deference. They were told that Thearidas should be sent t Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegea,* to treat ther with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. The went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians t an accommodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostil ities, till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacif all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their measures i such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate, went t the congress; and he did not arrive there till he was almost n longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmo nians; but Critolaus would not come into any measures. He said, that he was not impowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That bad stratagem, or rather breach of faith, ex ceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lace

* A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

lædæmonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegea, but in fact to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had done, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion which he himself had against them; and he only succeeded too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning any Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he said had all the effect he desired, and disposed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgments of the future, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Metellus having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves, by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers rose about them and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, enflamed them against the magistrates who did not enter into his views; flew out against the ambassadors themselves, animated them against the Romans, and gave them to understand, that it was not without previous good measures he had undertaken to make head against the Romans: that he had kings in his party; and that the republics were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedæmonians, and, in consequence, indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to observe the motions of the enemy;

another set out for Naupactus, and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achæans; they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

* The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new embassadors to the Achæans, with promises that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent that certain cities which had been proposed before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than 1000 prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle without its being known what became of him. It was supposed that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to 14,000 foot, and 600 horse. He gave orders besides for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves: others abandoned an unhappy country where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only measures that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with 1000 Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country; these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with

* A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

ıe deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the tem-
es and houses should be spared; and that none of the inha-
tants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners,
put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the
ıthor of all their miseries, who was brought to him and put to
:ath. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garri-
ın of which had retired upon his approach, he made his
oops march to Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up.
e sent thither three of the principal persons of the league,
ho had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to re-
ırn to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered
ıem. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair be-
ore the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants on their side,
ere equally desirous of seeing a period of their misfortunes;
ut that was not in their power, the faction of Diæus dispos-
ıg of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison,
nd would have been put to death, if Diæus had not seen the
nultitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflict-
d upon Sosicrates, who talked of surrendering to the Ro-
nans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition when Mummius arrived. He
ad hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing
acified at his arrival, and lest another should have the glory
f concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to
im, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had as-
embled all his troops he advanced to the city, and encamped
efore it. A body of his advanced guards being negligent of
uty upon their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked them
igorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the en-
rance of their camp. This small advantage very much en-
ouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them.
Diæus offered the consul battle. The latter to augment his
ashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented
im from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæ-
ns rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furious-
y with all their troops, having placed their wives and chil-
ren upon the neighbouring eminences to be spectators of the
attle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them,
o be laden with the booty they should take from the ene-
ny; so fully did they assure themselves of the victory.

Never was there a more rash or ill-founded confidence. The
faction had removed from the service and councils all such as
were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs,
nd had substituted others in their room, without either talents

or ability; in order to their being more absolutely masters of the government, and ruling without opposition. The chief, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without necessity, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near * Leucopetra, and the defile of the isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprised by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance; but, as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broke and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held out some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis, his country; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hope of defending themselves. As they found they were without counsel, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any further resistance, and oblige the victor to grant them some supportable conditions; so that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it were put to the sword, and the women and children sold; and after the statues, paintings, and riches, moveables were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. From that time the Corinthian brass became more famous than ever, though it had been in reputation long before. It is pretended that the gold, silver, and brass, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished, and razed to their very foundations.

* This place is now not known.

All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined the same year Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans, 952 years after its foundation by Alcetes, the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take; or that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and universally dismayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans were also punished by the demolition of their walls, and by being disarmed. The ten commissioners, sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia: because at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece. The Roman people sent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to show that example of severity, in order to deter others whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash, and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation of that city, where such as revolted might canton themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did not disprove of Carthage and Numantia being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.

* Majores nostri—Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Amongst the paintings there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated * hand in Greece, † representing Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting serve the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for 600,000 sesterces, that is, about 3625*l.* sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for 100 talents, or 100,000 crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb, *Attalicis conditionibus*. Nevertheless these sums seem repugnant to probability. However it were, the consul, surprised that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it contrary to public faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He ‡ did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, as he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, says Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The painting we speak of was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to see it out of curiosity, as a masterpiece of art; and it remained there till it was burned with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture, the merit of which he did not distinguish; not be-

* This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here, was in such estimation, that it was commonly said," " all paintings " are nothing in comparison to the Bacchus "

† Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. et l. xxxv c. 4. et 10.

‡ Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quam domum suam, *malui*. Quamquam Italia ornata, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatior. Laus abstinentiæ non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum—Habere quæstui remp. non modo turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam et nefarium *Cic.* de Offic. l. i. n. 76, 77.

ving there was any difference between picture and picture, statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in ose arts gave them their value. This he fully explained up- the present occasion He* had ordered persons to take care transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most cellent masters to Rome. Never had loss been so irrepara-, as that of such a deposit, consisting of the masterpieces of ose rare artists, who contributed almost as much as the great ptains, to the rendering of their age glorious to posterity. ummius, however, in recommending the care of that preci- s collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened em very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other ings, with which he charged them, should be either lost, or oiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at eir own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian who has preserv- us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted; and ould not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard the public good, to the exceeding delicacy of taste of the pre- nt age for such sort of rarities? He spoke at a time when at taste for excellent paintings among the magistrates, was e occasion of their committing all manner of frauds and rob- ries in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, on returning into Peloponnesus, had e affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, nd his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. any † thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mourn- l a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the me- ory of Philopœmen, his master in the science of war. I have lready observed, that a Roman, having taken it into his head have the statues erected to that hero taken down, had the mpudence to prosecute him criminally as if he had been still live, and to accuse him before Mummius, of having been an nemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their de- gns to the utmost of his power. That accusation was extra- agant, but had some colour in it, and was not entirely with-

* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfecta manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eas reddituras. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantam ea intelligi; et quin hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. Vell. Paterc. l. i. n. 13.

† Polyb in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

out foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopœmen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the latter times; that he might, perhaps, have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions; as in their wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commissioners before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed that the statues of Philopœmen should continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal Polybius had expressed upon this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the destruction of Corinth it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult done to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Dizus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and should have thought himself in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune; beside which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow-citizens. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing of what had appertained to Dizus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commissioners * conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness, justice, and prudence, that no further contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for so

* Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c.

great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription: "That "Greece had been guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened "from the first to the counsels of Polybius; but, that after her "faults, he alone had been her deliverer."

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there * the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of 82 years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king, Andriscus, was led before his chariot. Among the spoils, he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great, to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost 25 of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. The statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph, and, in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumph, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

SECTION V.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CAUSES OF THE GRANDEUR DECLENSION AND RUIN OF GREECE.

After having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us through a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroic virtues and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and consider, by way of abridgment, and at one view, the rise, progress, and declension of the principal states that composed it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

* Lucian. in Macrob. p. 143.

The first and second Ages of Greece.

I SHALL not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the infancy of Greece. The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified, and prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur * Bossuet observes, who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who, settling in several parts of the country, spread universally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exercises of the body, wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, an effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympic games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the public. They were not private persons, who regarding nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them: the Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle, to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, instituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves, and most of the cities formed themselves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private persons, to which all returned when they quitted employments, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be

* Universal History.

deprived; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjust, and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or a continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions, which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the husbandman or the artist from the first dignities of the state; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions in the armies either by land or sea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the mean of fortune, simplicity in buildings, moveables, dress, equipage, domestics, and table. It is surprising to consider the small retributions with which they were satisfied for their application in public employments and services rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and indued from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments! The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

The third Age of Greece.

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the obscure compass of their cities had but faintly dawned, and shone with but a feeble ray till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled in some measure to quit her home, and to show herself abroad in open day such as she was. And this was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of the east, overflowed on a sudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by sea and land, against a little spot of Greece, which seemed under the necessity of being entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only resist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, pursue

and destroy the greatest part of them. Let the reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valour and fortitude, which shone at that time, and continued to do so long after on like occasions. To what were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing successes, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice, and were become by long habit a second nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self interest, attention to the public good, desire of glory, love of their country; but above all, such a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and such an irreconcilable abhorrence for whoever conceived the least thought against it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissension and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republics as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves, or of making conquests at the expence of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of their lands, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their territory, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republics, and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government; and we are tempted to demand of ourselves, from whence could arise this greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence those noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politics, this profound and universal knowledge in the art of war, whether for the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or the drawing up and disposing all the motions of an army in battle; add to this, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleet victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and

bliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn reaty?

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks nd Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, ffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. Af-er Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdu-d by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by rich-s and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very udden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty ri-al of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained ver the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they ad acquired by their great and illustrious exploits. After so glorious a period, the Greeks long persevered in the same ove of simplicity, frugality, and poverty; the same remote-ess from pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the lefence of their liberty, and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and pro-rinces of Asia Minor, over which the Greeks so often tri-umphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasure and luxury: hey, however, never suffered themselves to be infected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of conquered people. It is true, they did not make those countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they were banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about 80 years after the battle of Salamin; and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece, which did not grow weak and degenerate but slowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to show.

The fourth Age of Greece.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks, was the disunion which rose up amongst themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms, as long as their union subsisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord among them. For that reason they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly in this manner by bribes secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest

share in their governments, were divided by domestic jea lousies, and turned their victorious arms against themselve which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from these causes gave Philip an Alexander opportunity to subject them. Those princes, to ac custom them to servitude the more agreeably, coloured their de sign with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. Th Greeks gave blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mo tal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal t them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by th hands which had conquered the universe, could never be re moved; those little states were no longer in a condition to shak it off. Greece, from time to time animated by the remem brance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and mad some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition; bu those efforts were ill concerted, and as ill sustained by its en piring liberty, and tended only to augment its slavery; be cause the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, soon mad themselves its masters: so that all it did was to change its fe ters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was b degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continual pushed on their conquests from province to province, they per ceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious pro jects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advan tageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in it self, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to th small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, an endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liber ty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and de stroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those state one after another, under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a pro vince of it under the name of Achaia.

It did not lose with its power * that ardent passion for li berty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people al most all their privileges; and Sylla†, who punished them so cruelly 60 years after, for having favoured the arms of Mi thridates, did not abridge those of their liberty, who escaped

* Strab. l. ix. † Plut. in Sylla.

vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were n to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey*, who fought the republic. Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no erwise than by declaring that he pardoned them out of con- eration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, ir inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. ey erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Har- dius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and not take them down till solicited by Antony, when become ir friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still ained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take m them, and to which themselves were obliged to pay ho- ge. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, e school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined ste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as By- ntium, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared at glory with Athens, and by its example opened schools ich became very famous. Rome, all haughty as she was, ac- owledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious tizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were in- ructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the know- dge of mathematics, the science of natural things, the rules manners and duties, the art of reasoning with justice and ethod: all the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and ie method taught of treating the greatest subjects with pro- riety, force, elegance, and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he anted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of ie great masters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midst f his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in assing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers, who taught here with great reputation, and to make himself in some mea- ure their disciple.

Nothing shows better the respect retained for the ancient eputation of Greece than a letter of Pliny † the younger. Ie writes in this manner to Maximus, appointed governor of hat province by Trajan. " Call to mind, dear Maximus, that ' you are going into Achaia, the true Greece, the same Greece ' where learning and the polite arts had their birth; where ' even agriculture was invented, according to the common opi- ' nion. Remember that you are sent to govern free cities and

* Diod. l. xlii. p. 191. et l. xlvii. p. 339. † Lib. viii. c. 24.

"free men, if any such there were; who, by their virtues, actions, alliances, treaties, and religion, have known how to preserve the liberty they received from nature. Revere the gods their founders; respect their heroes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the sacred antiquity of their cities, the dignity, great exploits, and even fables and vanity of that people. Remember it is from those sources that we have derived our law; that we did not impose our laws upon them after we had conquered them, but that they gave us their at our request, before they were acquainted with the power of our arms. In a word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedæmon you are to command. It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow which they retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Johannes Chrysostom, went to Athens to imbibe, as at their source, all the profane sciences. The emperors themselves*, who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers into their palaces, in order to their being intrusted with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory unknown before, Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole east, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations, to receive her language and adopt her customs: a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority, than that not founded in merit but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes some where, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek was in no great estimation.

* Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

ARTICLE III.

T seems, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece he Romans, our history, confined for the future to two prin- al kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more ar and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to n, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has n hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in ich several kings not only succeed one another in a short ce, but sometimes reign jointly, and at the same time, to number of three or four, which occasions a confusion dif- lt to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate my- f. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, suc- sion and duration, of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and ria. This small chronological abridgment may contribute cast some light upon facts which are exceedingly complex, l serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, ere the most clear-sighted will have occasion for assistance. enlarges the work a little; but it may be passed over, and course be only had to it when it is necessary to be set right: nsert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of 100 years for the gdom of Egypt, from the 20th year of Ptolemy Philometer, the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne, that is, m the year of the world 3845 to 3946.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains also nost the space of 100 years from Antiochus Eupater to An- chus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the man empire; that is, from the year of the world 3840, to e year 3939.

SECTION I.

CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT AND SYRIA.

A. M.	KINGS OF EGYPT.	KINGS OF SYRIA.
3824	Ptolemy Philometer, reigned something more than 34 years. This article contains only 14 years of his reign. Differences between Philometer and his brother Evergetes, or Physcon.	
3840		Antiochus Eupater, aged 19 years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years.
3842		Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus Philopater, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne.
3851		Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans.
		Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned 12 years.
		Alexander Bala He reigns almost five years. Ptolemaeus Philometer declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of
3859		Demetrius Soter.
3859	Ptolemy Evergetes,	Demetrius Nicator.
3860	otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometer, ascends the	Antiochus Theos son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes
3861	throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometer's wife.	part of the kingdom. Diodotes Tryphon after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne.
3863		Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner and confine him. He had reigned 7 years.
3864		Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleo-

KINGS OF EGYPT.	KINGS OF SYRIA.	A. M.
	patra Demetrius' wife marries him. Antiochus Sidetes marches against the Parthians.	3873
Phyſcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named alſo Cleopatra. He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra his firſt wife.	Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.	The Parthians send back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is slain. 3874
Phyſcon re-aſcends the throne.	Demetrius is killed by Zebina. Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.	Alexander Zebina, supported by Phyſcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed soon after. 3877
	Seleucus V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.	3880
		Zebina is overthrown by Grypus, and dies soon after. 3882
	Cleopatra designs to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.	3884
Death of Phyſcon. He reigned 29 years. Ptolemy Lathyrus, or Soter, ſucceeds Physcon. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and marry Selena, his youngest sister. Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son.		3887

A. M.	KINGS OF EGYPT.	KINGS OF SYRIA.	
3890			Antiochus, the Cyzicenian, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms against Cyprus.
3891			Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the Cyzicenian. She is killed by the order of Tryphena, wife of Grypus.
3892			The Cyzicenian gains a victory over Grypus, and drives him out of Syria.
3893		Cyprus is reconciled with his brother, the Cyzicenian.	The two brothers are reconciled and divide the empire of Syria.
3897	Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt. He had reigned 10 years. She sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.		
3903	She gives her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.		Cleopatra gives her daughter Selena to Antiochus Grypus.
3907		Death of Grypus.	He had reigned 17 years.
3910		Seleucus, his son, succeeds him.	Antiochus, the Cyzicenian is overthrown and put to death.
3911		Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.	Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenian, causes himself to be declared king.
3912		Antiochus XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes.	Eusebes marries Selena, widow of Grypus.

KINGS OF EGYPT.	KINGS OF SYRIA.	A. M.
	Philip, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.	3913
	Demetrius Euchares, fourth son of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus.	3914
lexander kills his other Cleopatra. Alexander is expelled himself. He had igned 19 years. He ed soon after. Lathyrus is recalled.		3915
	Eusebes overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongst the Parthians.	3916
	He is re-established upon the throne by their means.	3918
	Demetrius, having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius, fifth son of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damascus, and is killed the following year.	
	The Syrians weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect Tigranes, king of Armenia. He reigns by a viceroy 14 years.	3922
Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra, called otherwise Berenice, and kills her 17 days after. He had reigned 15 years.	Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. Selena his wife, retains part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and gives her two sons a good education.	3923
	Syria, being unprovided with troops, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years.	3935
	Tigranes recals Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there 14 years in his name.	
The Alexandrians expel Alexander. Ptolemy Auletes, bastard son of La-		

A. M.	KINGS OF EGYPT.	KINGS OF SYRIA.
3939	thyrus is placed upon the throne.	
		Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The house of the Seleucides is extinct with him.

SECTION II.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATER SUCCEEDS TO THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA.—JUDAS MACCABÆUS'S CELEBRATED VICTORIES.

WE have long lost sight of the * history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no small connection with each other. I am now going to resume the thread of them which will not be interrupted any more.

Antiochus, surnamed Eupater †, aged only 19, succeeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, sent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had usurped the employment which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship, the reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted, for the repossession of his right, and the expulsion of the usurper.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy Macron, governor of

* It is treated last towards the end of Book XVIII. Article II. Sect. II. and III.

† A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Appian. in Syr. p. 187. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. et x. 10—13. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

œlosyria and Palestine, from the enemy he had been till then the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the ripture says, with the crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigour of the rsecution against them, and employed his whole credit to obin a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies casion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king against him, representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy ilometer, king of Egypt, who had intrusted him with the goernment of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service; for, ow advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as usual, was hated. At length, they did so much by their clamours and cabals that he was deprived of his government, hich was given to Lysias; no other post or pension being conerred on him to support his dignity. He had not force of mind nough to bear his downfal, and poisoned himself; an end he ad well deserved for his treason, and share in the cruel perecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabæus * at this time signalized his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels, desirous of throwing off its yoke, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

Demetrius†, son of Seleucus Philopater, who, from the year his father died, had remained an hostage at Rome, was in his 23d year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupater to the crown, which he pretended to be his right as the son of Epiphanes' eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re establishment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it he repre-

* 1 Maccab. v. 1—68. 2 Maccab. x. 14—38.

† A. M. 3841. Ant. J. C. 163. Polyb. Legat. cvii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 117.

sented, that having been bred up at Rome, he should alwa regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, a their sons as his brothers. The senate had more regard the interests of the republic than the rights of Demetrius, thought it more advantageous for the Romans that there sho be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, tha prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formida ble to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eup ter, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

Lysias*, terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of 80,000 foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with 80 elephants: at the head of all these forces he marched into Judea, with the resolution to settle strange inhabitants, that worshipped idols, in Jerusalem. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabæus, and the whole people, beseeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there † appeared a horseman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed 12,600 men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lysias‡, weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the scripture says, "believing the Jews invincible, "when supported by the aid of the Almighty God," made a treaty with Judas and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long

* 2 Maccab. ix. 1—38. x. 1—7. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65—68. vi. 19—63. Joseph. Antiq. c. xii.

† It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people of God.

‡ Ibid. xi. 13.

n repose. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled ll his forces, and raised an army of 120,000 foot, without in- luding the horse, which amounted to 25,000. Judas, full of onfidence in the God of armies, marched against him with roops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and de- eated him. Timotheus lost 30,000 men in this battle, and sav- d himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by nany advantages on the side of Judas, which proved that God lone is the source of valour, intrepidity, and success in war. Ie showed this in the most sensible manner, by the evident nd singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom ie was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of 100,000 foot, with 20,000 horse, 32 elephants, and 300 chariots of war. The king in person, nd Lysias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the ead of it, and entered Judea. Judas, relying upon the omni- potence of God, the Creator of the universe, and having exhort- ed his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched nd posted himself in the front of the king's camp. After hav- ing given his troops for the word of battle, "the victory of "God," he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them n the night attacked the king's quarters. They killed 4000 men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with con- fusion and dismay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary va- lour of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpow- ered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He resolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazar, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve the people, and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his way boldly to the elephant, through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all that opposed him. Then placing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas, however, and his troops, fought with extraordinary re- solution. But at length, exhausted by the fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they chose to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of Bethsura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would, like them, have been obliged to surrender, if providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lysias. But the divisions which arose between the two brothers who reigned jointly, as had been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the east, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence upon his expedition against Judæa, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn in regard to the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after to his life.

The troubles*, occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Evergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometer. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundusium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopater, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprised of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found

* A. M 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Porphyr. in Cr. Eus. Scalig p. 60. et 18. Diod. in Excerpt Vales. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 193. Epit. Liv. l. 46.

n 26 miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues distance from me. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodss, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to acpt his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his rney. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants d habit he had worn till then. In that manner he entered me, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, o had but a very small house. His design, by all these cirnstances, was to express the misery he was reduced to the ter, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to ire he would come to them; and to excuse their not having epared a house for his reception, and that he had not been id the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to eat princes of his rank; they assured him, that it was neither want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but cause his coming had surprised them, and had been kept so cret, that they were not apprised of it till after he had enter- Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to quit the habit wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to plain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some the senators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders were ven to the quæstors and treasurers, to see him served and pplied, at the expence of the public, with all things necessa- during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his ndition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-esta- ish him; and deputed two of the senators, with the character ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their ecree to be put in execution. They re-conducted him accordgly, and succeeded in negociating an accommodation between ie two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene were iven to Physcon: Philometer had Egypt and the isle of Cyrus, and each of them was declared independent of the other the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement ere confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been, with the generality f princes, no more than simple ceremonies, and mere forms, y which they did not think themselves bound in the least. nd this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the oungest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which ad been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. Ie demanded, that the treaty of partition should be annulled, nd that he should be restored to the possession of the isle of

Cyprus. He alleged, that he had been forced, by the necessity of the times, to comply with the former proposals, and that, though Cyprus should be granted him, his part would still be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother; that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator; that at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him; and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintius and Canuleius, who had negociated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The senate, seeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded: for such was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that whilst they acted solely for their own interest, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one sovereign who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and whose interest in that view it was, that so powerful a Prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physcon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him in possession of it.

During that prince's stay in Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya with Physcon.

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors.

heir plan was to concert an interview between the two bro-
ers upon the frontier, and to bring them into an accommoda-
on by the method of treaty, according to the senate's instruc-
ons. Philometer did not explain himself openly at first. He
pun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon differ-
nt pretexts, with design of making use of the time in taking
ecret measures against his brother. At length he declared
lainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and
hat he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time*, informed of the ill con-
uct of Physcon during his being possessed of the government
t Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that
hey resolved to keep him out of the country by force of arms.
t was not doubted but Philometer had taken pains underhand
o excite those troubles. Physcon, who had been overthrown
y the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two
leputies with the Roman ambassadors back to Rome, with or-
lers to lay his complaints against his brother before the se-
nate, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at
Philometer's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus, accord-
ing to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between
him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambassadors to quit
Rome in five days.

Physcon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica,
but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, through
his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him and wounded
him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He
ascribed this to his brother Philometer; and when he was re-
covered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He
there made his complaints against him to the senate, showed
the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed
the assassins from whom he received them. Though Philo-
meter was the most humane of all princes, and could not be the
least suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the senate,
who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they
had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false
accusation with too much facility. They carried their preju-
dice so high against him, that they would not so much as hear
what his ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were
sent them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the se-
nate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into
Cyprus, and to put him in possession of that island, and wrote

* A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161. Polyb. Legat. c. xxxii. Id. in Ex-
cerpt. Vales. p. 197. Died. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 334.

to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

* Physcon by this means, with an army which seemed to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in the island Philometer, who had gone thither in person, beat him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of a brother he had so cruely injured. Philometer's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was expected, that having him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing; and not contented to forgive him his faults, he even restored him Lybia and Cyrenaica, and added further some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments which arise from nature, and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

SECTION III.

OCTAVIUS, THE ROMAN AMBASSADOR IN SYRIA, IS THERE KILLED.—DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABÆUS.

WE have † seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burned, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and disposed all things else in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person, named Lep-

* A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

† A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. cxiv, et cxxii. Cicer. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

ius, was so incensed at it, that in his rage he fell upon * Octavius whilst he was bathing, and killed him. It was suspected at Lysias, the regent of the kingdom, had secretly a hand in is assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to me, to justify the king, and to protest that he had no share that action. The senate sent them back without giving em any answer, to signify, by that silence, their indignation r the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, of ich they reserved the examination and punishment to themlves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they ected a statue to him among those of the great men who had st their lives in defence of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the disgust of the Romans against upater was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper r him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second me to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Sya. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest art of his friends, who advised him to make his escape with-it saying any thing. The event soon showed him how much ey were in the right. As the senate had always the same otives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he reived the same answer, and had the mortification of a second enial. He had then recourse to the first advice of his friends; nd Polybius the historian, who was at Rome, was one of those ho pressed him with the utmost warmth to put it in immediate xecution with secrecy. He took his advice. After concertg all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of a huntingatch, went to Ostia, and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre that waited for him †. It as three days before it was known at Rome that he had stoen away. All that the senate could do, was some days after o send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would roduce there.

Demetrius ‡ having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report pread that the senate had sent him to take possession of his lominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupater

* This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained that honour. Cic. Philip. ix n. 4.—Octavius, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.

† That ship carried to Tyre, according to custom, the first fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

‡ 1 Maccab. vii, viii, ix. et 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii, xiii. Appian. in Syr. p. 115. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupater and Lysias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer, of the province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave the deliverer the title of Soter, or Saviour, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupater had made high-priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood by following the impious customs of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes; this man gathered together all the apostate Jews who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judæa, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, advancing a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons that fell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army, and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did of a second commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty, and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas gave him a bloody defeat; and of his army of 35,000 men, not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. *His head*

nd right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple when e threatened to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one f the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, ent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attack. d by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reasonably o rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect rom the neighbouring people, who, far from interesting themelves for the preservation of the Jewish nation, entertained no houghts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for heir justice and valour, was always ready to support weak naions against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them mbrage. It was therefore he thought it necessary to make an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprises of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened him in case he persevered to do so. But before the ambassadors returned Judas was dead.

As soon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchis and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judæa, Judas had only 3000 men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except 800 men. Judas, with that small number, through an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he perished, overpowered by multitude. His loss was deplored throughout all Judæa and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recal Bacchis.

Demetrius * indeed was at that time very cautious in his con-

* A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 162. Polyb. Legat. cxx.

duct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negociation. Finding at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length by their means what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

To cultivate their amity*, he sent the same Menochares the following year in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed 10,000 pieces of gold †, as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hostage at Rome. They carried also with them Leptinus and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had, upon all occasions, taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

Demetrius‡, who found himself without war or occupation, began to give into pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little singular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle

* A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. xxv.

† They were worth more than 10,000 pistoles.

‡ A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

o be built, near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and hut himself up in it, for the sake of abandoning himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any nore of affairs, and, on the other, to the pleasure of good cheer nd excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials which people were desirous of presenting to im, were never received; justice was not administered; the ffairs of the state languished; in a word there was a general uspence of government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Iolophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot gainst his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the rown if the enterprise succeeded. It was discovered, and Hoophernes put in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of fe. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of im upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upn whose crown he had some pretensions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed*. The malcontents were supported underhand by Ptolemy Philometer, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, nd by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in avour of Holophernes. These three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing somebody to personate he son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary prensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have said already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, at the same time Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation, and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to form the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man, named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him, and instructed him fully in all that it was necessary to say or do.

† When he was fully prepared, he began by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the secret. He after-

* Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii, et cxl. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50.

† A. M. 3851. Ant. J. C. 153.

wards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raise troops. He then seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine, and there, under the name of Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander, seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of "friend of the king," sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this still outdid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had the truest interest of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high priesthood from him, and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it which he disposed of at pleasure.

*The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having, besides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved himself, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted also, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus to Onidos a city of Caria, in order to their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order if any accident should happen, that they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

It was at the same time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andriscus played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

‡ The two competitors for the crown of Syria having assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decisive battle. At first Demetrius' left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned 12 years. Alexander, by his victory, found himself master of the empire of Syria.

As soon as || Alexander saw himself at repose, he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

Onias, son of Onias III. having been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had re-

* A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. ‡ A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.
|| 1 Maccab. x. 51—66.

tired into Egypt*. He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometer and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite, and most intimate confident. He made use of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party against Antiochus Epiphanes: At the same time the high-priesthood there was granted to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretels this event in these terms†: "In that day shall five cities "in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear "to the Lord of hosts; the one shall be called the city of De-"struction." [M. Rollin says, the city of the Sun, or Heliopolis.] "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the "midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border there-"of to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness "unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall "cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall "send them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver "them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the "Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sa-"crifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow to the Lord, "and perform it."

The event here foretold by Isaiah is one of the most singular, and, at the same time, the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews, than to offer sacrifices to God in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; how much more in consequence, to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to pass, exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

Alexander Bala‡, finding himself in the peaceable possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures the abundance and power to which he

* Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii. † Isa. xix. 18—21.

‡ A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. Liv. Epit. lib. l. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

ad attained would admit. He abandoned himself therefore to is natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauch. He ·ft the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammoni-s. That insolent and cruel minister put to death Laodice, the ister of Demetrius, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia; ntigonus, Demetrius' son, who had continued in Syria when he two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of he blood-royal he could find, in order to secure to his master, y that means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by n imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhor-ence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius' sons, was at Cnidos, and egan to be of an age capable of counsel and action. When e was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the ccasion very favourable for repossessing himself of his right. asthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him ome companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of malcontents to orm an army, with which he made himself master of the whole rovince. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his seraglio o apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of An-ioch to Hierax and Diodorus, who is also called Tryphon, put imself at the head of an army formed of all the troops he could ssemble, and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor f Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he ent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius' first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who per-isted in his attachment to Alexander: but his success did not answer his design, and in one day he lost above 8000 men.

* Ptolemy Philometer, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, accord-ing to the orders they had received from Alexander to that ef-fect: Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Ammonius against the life of Philometer. As Alex-ander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and, in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, be-

* A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

lieved it time to show their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince, assuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended them to Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

* Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with 500 horse to † Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entrusted his children. Betrayed by the person in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off, and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died some few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometer king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of 35. Demetrius, who had attained *the* crown by this victory, assumed the surname of Nicator, that is to say, the conqueror. The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

SECTION IV.

PHYSCON ESPOUSES CLEOPATRA, AND ASCENDS THE THRONE OF EGYPT.

CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to‡ place the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her defence, caused Onias and Dositheus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador in Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that

* A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145.

† He is called Emalcuel in the Maccabees.

‡ A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. Joseph. contr. App. l. ii. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1.

hyscon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who ould be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should ossess it during his life. He had no sooner married the ueen, and taken possession of the crown, than, even the very ay of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of Physcon, given this prince, was only a nickname. That which he took himelf was Evergetes, which signifies the benefactor. The Alexndrians changed it into that of Cacoergetes, that is to say, on he contrary, "one who delights in doing harm;" a surname o which he had the justest title.

* In Syria affairs went on but little better. Demetrius, a oung prince without experience, left every thing to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had asended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man; and ehaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts f those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the oldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maitime places of Phœnicia and Syria to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of gaining them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria, who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans and some other foreigners in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had served under his father, and, being well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne; but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

* Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20—37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

Jonathan however, seeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolaters still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusations, which had been formed against him, to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes, for the sum of * 300 talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch †, and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kinds of excesses, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, and the whole nation disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotes, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting an hardy enterprise, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by the favour of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been intrusted. He laid a state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and in particular of the soldiery, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order to his being restored to his rights.

His view was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown to himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not give into it at first.

* 300,000 crowns.

† Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34 Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him, o solicit and press him. At length, between the force of im- ortunity and presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and ob- ained what he demanded.

* Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem vith vigour; but seeing that he made no progress, he sent de- uties to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the gar- ison which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, vho found himself involved in great difficulties from the fre- uent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people ad conceived an invincible aversion to his person and govern- ent, granted Jonathan all he demanded. upon condition that e would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent im 3000 men immediately. As soon as the king had them, elieving himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, e resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave or- ers accordingly that they should all deliver up their arms. Jpon this they rose, to the number of 120,000 men, and invest- d the palace with design to kill the king. The Jews immedi- tely flew to disengage him, dispersed that multitude with fire nd sword, burned a great part of the city, and killed or de- roy ed very near 100,000 of the inhabitants. The rest, inti- idated by so great a misfortune, demanded peace; which vas granted them, and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after aving taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of ntioch had done to Judæa and Jerusalem, principally during ie reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country iden with honour and booty.

Demetrius always continuing his cruelties, tyranny and op- ressions, put many more persons to death for the last sedition, onfiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. ll his subjects conceived such an hatred and animosity against im, that there wanted nothing but an occasion for rising, and naking him experience the most dreadful effects of their ven- eance.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and he great obligations he had to him for the aid which had pre- erved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did o others. Believing he could do without him for the future, ie did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Though he sum of 300 talents had been paid, he did not desist from lemanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with he same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of naking war upon him if he failed.

* A. M. 3860, Ant. J. C. 144.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the king of Syria, and gave him the surname of Theos, which signifies the God.

Jonathan, discontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœlosyria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

Tryphon*, seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus and of possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his design, than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well even to sound him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself of so formidable an enemy, and entered Judæa with an army in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethsan at the head of 40,000 men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship, and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except 3000 men, of which he kept only 1000 about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath that he should be put into possession of it. He had no sooner entered the place, than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediatlely seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached direct-

* 1 Maccab. xii. 39—54. xiii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. lv.

:o follow and surprise the 2000 men who were upon their
.rch to Galilee. They had already received advice of what
d happened to Jonathan and his troops at the city of Ptole-
.is, and having exhorted one another to defend themselves
:ll, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were
·aid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and
rived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was ex-
:me. The Jews however did not lose courage. They chose
non by universal consent for their general, and immediately,
his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed
complete the fortifications begun by Jonathan at Jerusalem;
d when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon
arched against him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again re-
urse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with
nathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jona-
aan under an arrest, because he owed the king 100 talents*;
aat if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons
s hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be
=t at liberty. Though Simon saw clearly that this proposal
as no more than a feint: however, that he might not have
=ason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his bro-
ıer's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the mo-
ey, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithstand-
ıg, did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time in-
o Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with de-
ign to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close
o him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustra-
:ed his designs and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon†, on his return into winter-quarters in the country
f Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death; and believing
ıfter that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus
ecretly. He then caused it to be given out, that he was dead
of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Sy-
ria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Si-
mon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his
bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Mo-
din, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Ro-

* 100,000 crowns.
† A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 143. Diod. Legat. 31.

mans. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy with a golden statue of victory, of 10,000 pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted upon the inscription, as if it had come from him.

The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome * were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea†, and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kinds of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility, upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

Demetrius at length ‡ recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the east, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians having almost over-run the whole east, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to suffer that usurpation and the haughty insolence of their new masters, extremely solicited Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the east. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himself master of the east, with that increase of power he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

* 1 Maccab. xiv. 16—40.

† A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42, et xiv. 38—41. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

‡ Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5, et 6. 1 Maccab. xv. 1—49 Joseph. Antiq. l xiii. c. 9—12. Orosius l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

As soon as he appeared in the east, the Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several engagements; but at length under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themselves as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, son of Priapatius, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces founded, and his son Arsaces II. established and fixed this empire, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned 15 years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own children, because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people: convinced, that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state, than the advancement of his own family; and to forget, in some measure, that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having subdued the Medes, Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia, so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the west, and the Ganges on the east.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by showing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage.

* Non multo post decessit, multis filiis relictis: quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiusque patriæ quam liberis consulendum. Justin.

However, he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, though in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, and out of them composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard-of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wise customs of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with *incredible* efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars with which that empire was continually torn, to secure the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people of Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and gave *him* the government with the title of sovereign, as well as that of high-priest: they declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had *been* conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

* When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had in-

* A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140.

dustriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people for the success of his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. These desertions did not however sufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should choose rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promised on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown; for when she was informed that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged that she observed no measures any further and resolved to seek her support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a precarious crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their right. As Antiochus therefore was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said ~~before~~. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon*, wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, of whom he promised a speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater, when he should ascend the throne.

† Accordingly, the beginning of the following year, he made a descent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to 120,000 foot and 8000 horse.

* 1 Maccab. v. 1—41. xvi. 1—10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, 13.
† A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea to Orthosia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamea, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called Sidetes, or the hunter, from the word zidah, which has the same signification in the Syriac language.

Simon, established in the government of Judæa by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate, in consequence caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia,* Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in consequence they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon so advantageous an alliance from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interest of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judæa under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

Physcon had reigned seven years in Egypt†. History relates nothing of him, during all that time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties. Never was there a prince so abandoned to debauch, and at the same time so cruel and bloody. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were

* This letter was addressed to Demetrius, though prisoner among the Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes nor Tryphon.

† A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 8. Diod. l. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 361, Athen. l. iv. p. 184. et l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, 2.

normous; for he both said and acted in public the extravagances of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, s first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom, in e reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had en given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed ryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he tired into Egypt, entered into the service of Ptolemy Physon, and soon became his captain general and prime minister. s he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by causing e troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his aster committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by reventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been ll then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

* But in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or e prudence and ability of that first minister were no longer apable of restraining the folly of this prince, the affairs of Egypt ent on worse than ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the greatest part of those to be put to death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the ime. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometer his brother, or had nly held employments during his reign; and by permitting his oreign troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, o avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign ountries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply heir places, when he perceived that nothing remained but mpty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the eighbouring countries, that whosoever should come and settle here, of whatever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragements and advantages. There were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well. The houses hat had been abandoned were given to them, and all the rights, privileges, and immunities granted them, which had been enoyed by the ancient inhabitants. By this means the city was repeopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians,

* A. M. 3868. Ant. J. C. 136.

ficiently corresponded with that of the mind; nothing was ever worse put together. His stature was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nickname of Physcon. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff that all his deformity might be seen through it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot (not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of intemperance), unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panetius, told him in his ear, smiling, "the Alexandrians are "obliged to us for seeing their king walk on foot."

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is surprising to see, in that long list of kings, whose history we have related, how few there are that deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of dissoluteness and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was as great a prodigy of wisdom and virtue as could be found amongst the Pagans. Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

* Attalus, king of Pergamus, died about the times of which we now speak. His nephew, of the same name, called also Philometer, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could; and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometer governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he

prorsus quasi astu inspicienda præberentur, quæ omni studio occultata pudibundo viro erant. Justin. l. viii. c. 8.

Athenæus says, προῆει μηδέποτε πόζεσι μὴ διὰ Σκιπίωνα. Which the interpreter translates, Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnixius; instead of, nisi propter Scipionem.

* A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 370.

tained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best iends of his house. He caused almost all who had served his ther and uncle with extreme fidelity, to have their throats t, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother tratonice, who died of a disease in a very advanced age, and hers his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, ith which she had been taken very naturally. He put others so to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous; and with them, eir wives, children, and whole families. He caused these xecutions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had xpressly sent for from the most savage and cruel of nations, make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury in this manner the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to ow himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and te no longer in public. He put on old clothes, let his beard row without taking any care of it, and did every thing which ersons accused of capital crimes used to do in those days, as he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, retired into his garden, and applied o digging the ground himself, and sowing all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesome herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He passed all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagances of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He took it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass, to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in seven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in these terms, "*Let the "Roman people inherit all my fortunes.*" As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion, and ascending the tribunal of harangues, proposed a law to this effect, that all the ready money which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed among the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country be-

queathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people; which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time after.

* Aristonicus however, who reported himself of the blood royal, was active to take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes by a courtezan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

† As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul Crassus Mucianus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which *made him* very agreeable to the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, *joined him with* their troops.

‡ Notwithstanding such powerful supports, having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconsul, was defeated and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, *soon revenged* his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. *All* Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

‖ He sent Aristonicus to Rome in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus' treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and some time after Perpenna,

* A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 132. † A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.
‡ A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. ‖ A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

ho had begun his journey, died of disease at Pergamus. Aquis soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four ears. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all at composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a rovince of the Roman empire, under the common name of sia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocea, which had eclared against the Romans, as well in the last war as in iat against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants f Marseilles, which was a colony of Phocea, moved as much ith the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own ity had been in question, sent deputies to Rome to implore ne clemency of the senate and people in their favour. As ist as their indignation was against Phocea, they could not efuse that favour to the ardent solicitations of a people, whom hey had always held in the highest consideration, and who endered themselves still more worthy of it, by the tender conern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and ounders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war; but after his death they dispossessed his son, the great Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services of the father, added Lyconia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a stepmother. To secure all authority to herself she poisoned five of her children, and the sixth would have had the same fate, if his relation had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Mægara, whose crimes the people soon revenged by a violent death.

* Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shown there as a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus' will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterward to Arsaces, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having forged a false will of Attalus†, in order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him

* A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126.

† Simulato impio testamento filium ejus (Eumenis) Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxere. Apud. Sallust. Fragm.

of right: but it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more surprising that Horace in one of his odes seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate that they had attained the succession by fraud.

> Neque Attali
> Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi. Hor. Od. xviii. l. 51.
>
> Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown,
> The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.

However, there remains no trace in history of any secret intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans. I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

SECTION V.

SIDETES TAKES JERUSALEM, AND THEN MAKES WAR AGAINST THE PARTHIANS.—PHYSCON'S CRUELTY AND DEATH.

SIMON having been slain by treason*, with two of his sons, John, another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews, in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those who were about the king's person pressed him to take the advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore

* A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 135. 1 Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. c. 16. Diod. in Eclog. i. p. 99—101.

he same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore hey well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, that it was from the pure effect of he generosity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: the peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also demanded, that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of * 500 talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and because it could not be immediately ratified, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

† Scipio Africanus the younger, going to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the quæstor,‡ to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in the service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

‖ Demetrius Nicator had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Par-

* 500,000 crowns.
† A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134. Epit. Liv. l. lvii.
‡ The quæstor was the treasurer of the army.
‖ A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

thians: interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon the throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprised of this design or not, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians' late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the east, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army was upwards of 80,000 men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, and might amount to about 300,000. There may be some exaggeration in this account; but if two-thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those who administered to it. * Gold and silver glittered universally, even upon the legs of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast, and not to a war.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the east, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the winter in the east. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to separate, and remove so far from each other, that they could not easily rejoin and form a body, in case of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they insulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests that nothing could satisfy, con-

* Argenti aprique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerent, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore popu i ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuere, quasi ad epulas, non ad bella, pergerent. Justin.

ired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in eir quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which is accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of oops always about his person, marched to assist the quarters arest him, but was overpowered by numbers, and perished nself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in eir quarters the same day, or made prisoners; so that out of great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, is particularly lamented. Plutarch * relates a saying of his, ry much to his honour. One day having lost himself a hunt-g, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor ople, who received him in the best manner they could, with-t knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the con-rsation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, at he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too reat passion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of his ingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose ctions did not always correspond with the goodness of his in-ntions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next ay, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. le repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, nd told them by way of reproach, "since I have taken you into my service, I have not heard a truth concerning myself till yesterday."

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, n hopes that his return would occasion such troubles as would educe Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he letached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who ap-prehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors, and hav-

* A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

ing found one of his daughters amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead *, Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and divisions which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants depended in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

Phraates†, flushed with his great successes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus's invasion of his dominions. But, whilst he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, which found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of disquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pursued by Antiochus, as we have seen, he had demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated, and having no further occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice, and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill-treatment they had suffered during their captivity; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle,

* Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1.

† A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1. et l. xlii. c. 1, et 2.

hilst the victory was in suspence, that Phraates was defeated ith a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the irsuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and reeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and en retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates' uncle, caused him- lf to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some ys after in a battle with the Trogarians, another Scythian na- n. Mithridates was his successor, who, for his glorious ac- ns, was surnamed the Great.

During all these revolutions in the Syrian and Parthian em- res, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I ve already observed, that on his marriage with his sister leopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son e had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their ptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philo- eter, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and en married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of lexandria, whom he had drawn thither to repeople it, and pply the place of those his first cruelties had obliged to aban- on their country. To put them out of a condition to do him urt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young men the city, of whom its whole force consisted. For that pur- ose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign oops in the place of exercise, when the assembly there was ost numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole peo- le ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; ut he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his scape into Cyprus with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Mem- hitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the peo- le of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of leopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised oops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

But first, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make is son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyre- aica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as oon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which ad no foundation but in his falsely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alex- ndria. He believed that Cleopatra whom he had repudiated, ad induced the people to this action, and to be revenged of her,

ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princess, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed, which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the public, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general; and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Physcon having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought, and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marsyas prisoner, and sent him laden with chains to Physcon; it was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and set him at liberty; for finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometer, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without hesitation, accepted the proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and those of Apamea, with many other cities of Syria, followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked

ith her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter Cleo-
atra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra the daughter had been first married to Alex-
nder Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life-time of
er father Philometer. But Demetrius having been taken pri-
oner by the Parthians, and detained amongst them, she had
arried Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius' brother. After the
eath of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius her first husband,
ho being set at liberty by the Parthians, had repossessed him-
lf of Syria: she kept her court at Ptolemais when her mother
ame to her.

* Physcon, as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria,
eturned thither, and re-assumed the government; for after the
efeat of Marsyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was no-
ody in condition to oppose him. After having employed some
me in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of De-
etrius, he set up an impostor against him, called Alexander
ebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He gave
mself out for the son of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in
at quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Physcon
nt him an army to put him in possession of it. He was no
ooner in Syria, than, without examining the justice of his pre-
ensions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their
atred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the person
ho was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near
amascus in Cœlosyria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and
ed to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who
ad always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongst the
arthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the
ates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think,
hat in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of dis-
ute and emulation between the princes and princesses who
hould distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the black-
st crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he
as killed. After his death, Cleopatra reserved to herself
art of the kingdom: Zebina had all the rest; and, to esta-
lish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus,
who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divi-
ions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the con-
irmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advan-
ages, which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

* A. M. 3877. Ant. J. C. 127.

He had sent the preceding year an * embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance made with Simon his father. The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken several cities, had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places, of which he had made cession to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by besieging the city of Jerusalem: upon what the ambassadors represented to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenor of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other subjection. It was also concluded, that the Syrians should make amends for all losses that the Jews had sustained from them in contravention to the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.

At the time we speak of †, incredible swarms of grasshoppers laid Africa waste in an unheard-of manner. They ate up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Libya, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than 800,000 souls.

We have said, that Cleopatra ‡ had possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of whom, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to establish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear, that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plun-

* Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

† A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Oros. l. v. c. 11.

‡ A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Justin. l. xxix. c. 1. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

ing a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It s hardly conceivable how a woman and a mother could be ca- able of committing so horrid and excessive a crime: but when ome unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes he source of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it s not far from arming itself with poniards, and from having ecourse to poison; because, urgent for the attainment of its nds, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which pposes that view.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of yria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, nd declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, nd resolved to defend that place against him; but he found ieans to reconcile them. They submitted, and he pardoned iem with the most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, nd without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had i reality an exceeding good heart. He received all who ap- roached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that e acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhor- ed the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he vas assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeed- d him, was the famous Mithridates Eupater, who disputed so ong the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war f almost 30 years duration against them. He was but 12 years f age when his father died. I shall make his history a sepa- ate article.

* Cleopatra, after having killed her eldest son, believed it or her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she ight conceal the authority she intended to retain entirely to erself. She rightly distinguished that a warlike people, ac- ustomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the hrone as vacant whilst filled only by a princess, and that they vould not fail to offer it to any prince that would set up for it. he therefore caused her other son, Antiochus to return from thens, whither she had sent him for his education, and order- d him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was o more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the af- airs of the government; and as that prince was very young, eing no more than 20 years of age, he suffered her to govern or some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from ther princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally cal-

* A. M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 123.

led by the surname of * Grypus, taken from his great nose. Josephus calls him Philometer; but that prince in his medals took the title of Epiphanes.

† Zebina having well established himself, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, who looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.

‡ After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus, believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, and grandeur eclipsed by that means, could not suffer it. To render herself absolute mistress of the government of Syria again, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her in it during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince having been apprised of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself; and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who by her unheard-of crimes had been so long the scourge of the state. She

* Τρυπός, in Greek, signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

† A. M. 3882. Ant. J. C. 122.

‡ A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120.

had been the wife of three kings of Syria*, and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands, and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the public, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother, Antiochus of Cyzicum, occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt†, after having reigned 29 years from the death of his brother Philometer, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded with more crimes than his.

SECTION VI.

PTOLEMY LATHYRUS SUCCEEDS PHYSCON.—CONTINUATION OF THE WARS IN SYRIA AND EGYPT.

PHYSCON ‡ at his death left three sons. The first named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two sons she should think fit to choose. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to choose him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recal him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selena, his younger sister, for whom he had no inclination. Dispositions of this kind promise no very pacific reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors

* The three kings of Syria, who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius: and Antiochus the Cyzicenian, by Antiochus Sidetes.

† Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix.

‡ A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Justin. l. xxxix c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub finem, et in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. et l. vi. c. 30. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 385.

give him that of Philometer; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as that is but a kind of nickname, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

† Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. ‖When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of *regard* to his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situated upon the Propontis, in Asia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom she had intrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenian was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

‡ Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenian. She brought him an army for her dowry, to assist him *against* his competitor. Their forces, by that means, being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenian having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife for her security in that place, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earnest with him to put Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Though her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had *taken* refuge in a sanctuary, which was held inviolable; Grypus

* Λαθυρος signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin "cicer," from which came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name had been inconsistent.

† A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114.

‡ A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 113.

‖ We find in the later editions of Justin the following words: "ercitum Grypi solicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deduxit;" which shows that Cleopatra having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read "Cypri" instead of "Grypi," which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

would not have a complaisance for his wife which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alleged to her the sanctity of the asylum where her sister had taken refuge, and represented that her death would neither be of use to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenian: that in all the civil or foreign wars wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially so near relations: that Cleopatra was her sister, and his near * relation: that therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities. † Tryphena, far from giving into his reasons, became more violent by conceiving jealousy; and imagining that it was not from the motive of compassion, but love, that her husband took the part of that unfortunate princess in such a manner; she therefore sent soldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the gods, in whose sight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance she might have occasion for, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

‡ The death of Cleopatra in Syria, did not long remain unpunished. The Cyzicenian returned at the head of a new army, to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

‖ Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He

* Her father Physcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.

† Sed quanto Grypus abnuit, tanto furor muliebri pertinacia accenditur; rata non misericordiæ hæc verba, sed amoris esse. Justin.

‡ A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 112.

‖ A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 111.

retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia (which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian), but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenian had Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and many other excesses.

Whilst the two brothers * were exhausting their forces against one another, or indolently dosed after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenian, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.

† The two brothers, after this victory, returned to the siege, and pressed the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenian, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt was treated with upon the same head, who granted 6000 men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation, and out of regard for them, she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenian joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself with flying parties and excursions to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to reduce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some parties, desertion, and other accidents, he thought it improper

* A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 110. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. 17—19.
† A. M. 3895. Ant. J. C. 109.

o expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprise, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no further thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and houses of the inhabitants, were entirely razed, and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut through the plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod, who gave the new city he caused to be built there, the name of Sebastos, in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus saw himself at that time master of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his times. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

† But towards the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profession of an attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all sorts of favours, to engage them in his interests. Besides, having been educated among them, and having always professed himself of their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them highly capable of affecting rational minds. He represented, that it had always been his

* Σεβάστος in Greek signifies Augustus.

† A. M. 3896. Ant. J. C. 108.

intention, as they well knew to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the pharisees: that he conjured them therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect: "Since you desire that the truth should be told you with "freedom, if you would prove yourself just, renounce the "high-priesthood, and content yourself with the civil govern-"ment." Hyrcanus was surprised, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Eleazar replied, that it was known, from the testimony of ancient persons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar * would have had reason; for the law was express in that point: but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all who were present extremely blamed him for having advanced it, and expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, and, in consequence, his right to the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judæa, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, entirely divided the state; that of the pharisees, and that of the sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered than to the law itself, though often contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and, in consequence, another life after this. They affected an outside of virtue, regularity, and austerity, which acquired them great consideration with the peo-

* Liv. xxiv. 15.

ple. But under that impositious appearance, they concealed the greatest vices: sordid avarice, insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy that rose almost to fury, against all merit but their own; an irreconcilable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and what was still their more distinguishing characteristic, and outdid all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The sadducees rejected the pharisaical traditions with contempt; denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; and admitted no felicity but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and most of those who composed the sanhedrim, that is to say, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and religion were determined, were of the latter sect.

Jonathan therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, insinuated to him that what had passed was not the mere suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that, to convince him of the truth, he had only to consult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the principal of the pharisees upon the punishment due to him who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the punishment he deserved was to be scourged and imprisoned. So much lenity in so heinous a case, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the pharisees. He prohibited, by a decree, the observation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the sadducees, their enemies.

* Hyrcanus did not long survive this storm: he died the year following, after having been high-priest and prince of the Jews 29 years.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

* A. M. 3897. Ant. J. C. 107.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus * had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her opposition. She carried her resentment so high upon this attempt, and some others of a like nature, against her authority, that she took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two sons †, and obliged him to quit Egypt. Her method to do this, was to have some of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an assembly of the people at Alexandria. She caused it to be reported, that he had used them so barbarously for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence, and inflamed the people so much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he designed to kill her, that they immediately arose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent soon after for Alexander her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

Alexander ‡, king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprised that the latter was negociating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces, in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under the command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost 30,000 men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

* Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 4. † Those two sons died before him.
‡ A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20, 21.

most cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon occasion. The same evening he gained this battle, in go- to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he nd them full of women and children, and caused them to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, l put into cauldrons, in order to their being dressed, as if he ended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to ve it believed that his troops ate human flesh, to spread the eater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such arbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so ld a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any ene- in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country. ithout the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year, exander had been undone; for, after so considerable a loss, was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head ainst his enemy.

* That princess saw plainly that if Lathyrus made himself aster of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to ter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she raised an my, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, e two Jews of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out fleet at the same time, to transport her troops; and embark- g with them herself, landed in Phœnicia†. She carried with r a great sum of money and her richest jewels. For their curity, in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their epository, and sent thither at the same time her grandson lexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When lithridates made himself master of that island, and of the easures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, nd gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander ithdrew by stealth from Mithridates, some time after, and ook refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into is protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him up- n the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise he siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He etired into Cœlosyria. She detached Chelcias with part of ier army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by

* A. M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 103.

† Appian. in Mithridat. p. 186. Et. de bel. civil p. 414.

Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias, wh commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the e pedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, thre himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it with out defence in the absence of his mother, who had carried h best troops into Phœnicia. He was mistaken. * The troo Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of tho she detached to reinforce them from Phœnicia upon receivi advice of his design. He was reduced to return into Palestin and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra, however, pushed the siege of Ptolemais with much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entere it Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents wit him to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced most to his success was his hatred for her son Lathyrus; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court observed to her, that she had now a fair opportunity of making herself mistress of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person: they even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, engaged with her in the same cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of society; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually used his reasons and credit, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

† Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine, whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her side, retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

* A. M. 3902. Ant. J. C. 102.
† A. M. 3903. Ant. J. C. 101.

Being * informed upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicenian, and that with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time, a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him in a condition to attack his brother, the Cyzicenian, with vigour. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenian had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she pursued his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and observing besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; that prince did not believe himself safe near her, and chose to abandon the throne, and retire; preferring a quiet life, without fear, in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant solicitation he was prevailed upon to return; for the people could not resolve that she should reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that from the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

† The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned 27 years. He left five sons; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him; the four others were, Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Euchares, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

Ptolemy Apion ‡, son of Physcon, king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty,

* Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. † A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.
‡ A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 5.

which soon filled the country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of their. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but this was never properly effected, till the period when the country was reduced into the form of a Roman province.

Antiochus the Cyzicenian seized Antioch*, after the death of Grypus and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus's children of the rest of the kingdom; but Seleucus, who was in possession of many other good cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia†, who had been kept an hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians. This happened 25 years before he espoused the part of Mithridates against the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

The Cyzicenian‡, who saw that Seleucus strengthened himself every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, and taken prisoner, he was put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself master of the whole empire of Syria; but he did not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenian, who made his escape from Antioch when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus‖, where he caused himself to be crowned king. ¶ From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the imposition of gross subsidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.

Antiochus ** and Philip, the twin sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword: but on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat,

* A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. † A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95.
‡ A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. ‖ An island and city of Phœnicia.
¶ A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93. ** A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selena the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to retain part of the empire, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for that injury, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Euchares, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent that blow; for though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip however still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge among the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, repossessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the same time. This was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, made himself king of Cœlosyria, and supported himself in it for three years.

Affairs were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to get rid of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was appri ed of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons, nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us nowhere with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidents; who, all in cold blood, with premeditated design, reflec-

tion, and concerted policy, employ the most odious and most inhuman means to those effects. Never was the anger of heaven more distinguished, or more dreadful, than upon these princes and people. We see here a sad complication of the blackest crimes, perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, disputing treachery and wickedness with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems so call for it in the loudest manner.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having collected some ships, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

The Syrians *, weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus for the sovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils those divisions occasioned, and restore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus, others of Ptolemy king of Egypt; but the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with this resolution. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore 18 years. He governed that kingdom 14 years by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recal from that office till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was

* A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83.

killed in some action against Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Some time after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken, after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that from being the greatest and richest city till then in Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

* Lathyrus did not long survive the ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned 36 years; 11 jointly with his mother in Egypt, 18 in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra his daughter succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the established custom of that house, all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla, at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir male of the defunct. He was the son of that Alexander, who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the master of Rome, and in consequence dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death 19 days after their marriage, and reigned alone 15 years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and might be said to have grown into fashion among princes and princesses.

Soon† after, Nicomedes king of Bithynia died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means

* A. M. 3723. Ant. J. C. 81. † A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76.

became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica also did the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty: 20 years had passed since, during which term sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, who put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

SECTION VII.

POMPEY DISPOSSESSES ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS OF THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA.—TROUBLES IN JUDÆA AND EGYPT.

SOME troubles which happened in Egypt*, occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made Selena, the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had always opposed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldest, called Antiochus, resolved to pass by the way of Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shows how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of, to what excess the avarice of the magistrates sent into the provinces rose, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, and in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres was at that time prætor in Sicily. As soon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine,

* A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Cic. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61–67.

and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned: the tables set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

He invites Verres to supper in his turn; exposes all his riches, multitudes of silver vessels, and not a few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, and especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine, made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand, one after the other, praises and admires them; the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

From thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to rifle Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of showing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again, to desire that he would lend him the vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might consider it more exactly, as he said. The king sent him that also.

But to crown all: the kings of Syria, of whom we speak, had carried a branch sconce with them to Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding; but that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight of it; in order, that when it should appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprise might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendour to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Verres was informed of all this by some means or other; for the prince had taken care to keep the sconce concealed; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it, before exposed to the public view of the Romans. The

prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly begged him to send it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let nobody else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the sconce secretly to Verres, well covered from sight; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, this is a present worthy of a prince, worthy of a king of Syria, worthy of the capitol: for it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vie with the materials; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish, it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple.

The officers of Antiochus having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the sconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The king was not alarmed at first, and had no suspicion. One day, two days, several days passed, and the sconce was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? That very sconce, which he knew from the prince himself was to be set up in the capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action; the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms: but when he saw that his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alleged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The king upon that withdrew to the public place; and with tears in his eyes declared, with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a sconce of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the capitol,

o be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and ami-y with the Roman people: that he was not concerned, and id not complain, for the other vessels of gold and jewels hich Verres had from him; but that to see that sconce taken om him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront that ade him inconsolable; that though by his own, and the inten-on of his brother, that sconce was already consecrated to Ju-iter, however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and conse-rated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman ci-zens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness to the sen-ments of his heart and piety of his intentions.

Antiochus Asiaticus being returned into Asia, soon after as-ended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for he space of four years. Pompey* deprived him of his king-om during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria nto a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odi-us ought the name of Roman to be to them, when they heard t told, that in a Roman province a king had been so grossly ibused by the prætor himself, a guest plundered, an ally and riend of the Roman people driven away with the greatest in-lignity and violence! And what Cicero reproaches Verres vith in this place, was not peculiar to him: it was the crime f almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into the provinces: crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of vhich they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and ibject connivance: "We have seen for several years," says he same Cicero in one of his orations against Verres, "and 'have suffered in silence, the wealth of all nations to be trans-'ferred into the hands of a few private persons. Athens, Per-'gamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chio, Samos, in fine all Asia, 'Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now inclosed in some of the coun-'try houses of those rich and unjust men of rapine, whilst 'money is universally a prodigious rarity every where else: 'and we have just reason to believe that ourselves connive in 'all these crying and terrible disorders; as those who com-'mit take no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide 'their thefts and depredations from the eyes and knowledge 'of the public†."

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opi-

* A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.
† Cic. in Ver. ult. de suppl. n. 125, 126.

nion to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements (to use that expression), to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests; to which however we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa, had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be rid by them. His death * did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation, according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir; but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party, and took his place.

Nothing † but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed Auletes, that is to say, "the player upon the flute," because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him; Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. Some ‡ were of opinion, that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus,

* A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. et de bell. Judaic. 1. 4. et A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

† A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 11. Trogus in Prol. 39. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

‡ Cicer. Orat. 2. in Rullum, n. 41, 43.

of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and express too clearly a design formed to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed besides, that this enterprise might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands; so that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard-of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state, are war, victory, and conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account, I mean seduction: when to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret collusions, and great donations of money, are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict

union with that republic, during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they were more solicitous, either in public or private, with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives then induced these princes to act in this manner? First, gratitude: the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendour to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates: and next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they had of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful successors; for bastards were not looked upon as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the situation of which we speak, had but three things to choose; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to restore his subjects to their entire liberty, by instituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury: and the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependence upon mute laws, that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince, therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people,

feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions and bloody discords did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans, out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the gift the king had made them of it at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, furious to madness against each other, and, in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself and its independence long against them? There was an inevitable necessity for its falling into the hands of that people, and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection; for they made a great difference between the people who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being reduced, by reiterated defeats, to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind; and, generally speaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to assure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republics of Greece in the times of their ancestors: so that the Greeks seemed to be

great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniences, by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of governors; but those were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress, and which after all were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, against each other, were attended, and still less to the violences and ravages occasioned by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and states.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the princes in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuse the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently observed the views of interest and political motives of their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: but there was always a considerable number of citizens zealous for the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius*, who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom than to take so small a one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the

* A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. Strab. l. iv. p. 684.

will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined, in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he had credit and address enough to have the justest of the Romans elected; I mean Cato, whom he * removed from the republic, under the pretext of an honourable commission, that he might not find him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs he meditated. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that affront, says an historian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vices sufficiently authorized seizing all his fortunes.

Cato, upon his arrival at Rhodes, sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable for his honourable subsistence. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not however in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put to sea. His design was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, though he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby showed that he loved them better than he did himself, by title, king of Cyprus, but in fact the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce been laid up in the public treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost 7000 talents, (1,050,000*l.* sterling.) Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be sold publicly; reserving only to himself a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the mask, and show themselves, not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the re-

* Plut. in Cat. p. 346.

public, full of contempt for riches, and esteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. "The Roman people," says Cicero, "instead of making it their honour, and almost their duty, as "formerly, to re-establish the kings their enemies, whom they "had conquered, upon their thrones, now see a king, their al-"ly, or at least a constant friend to the republic, who had "never done them any wrong, of whom neither the senate nor "any of our generals had ever the least complaint, who en-"joyed the dominions left him by his ancestors in tranquillity, "plundered on a sudden without any formality, and all his ef-"fects sold by auction almost before his eyes, by order of the "same Roman people. This," continues Cicero, "shows other "kings upon what they are to rely for their security.; from "this fatal example they learn, that amongst us there "needs only the secret intrigue of some seditious tribune, "for depriving them of their thrones, and plundering them at "the same time of all their fortunes*."

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest and most upright man of those times, (but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the pagans?) should lend his name and service in so notorious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, shows, however, in the same discourse I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reserve for the following book the history of that prince, which merits a particular attention.

* Cic. Orat. pro, Sexto. n. 57.

BOOK XX.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

The twentieth book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS, FROM ARISTOBULUS TO HEROD THE IDUMÆAN.

AS the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate of it what was most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed of it. Dean Prideaux, whom I have used here, may be also consulted to the same effect.

SECTION I.

REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS I. WHICH LASTED TWO YEARS.

HYRCANUS, high priest and prince of the Jews*, had left five

* A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 116. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de Bel. Jud. i. 3.

sons at his de. . The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus; the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Absalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judæa from the Babylonish captivity, had done besides himself. The conjuncture seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison to themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment of the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus' mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus' will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government: but some small time after, upon a false accusation, put him to death. He confined the other three in prison during his life.

When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority his father had enjoyed, * he entered into a war with the Ituræans, and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country, and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmonæans. It shows that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in question, was a part of Cœlosyria, on the north-east

* A. M. 3898. Ant J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19. Id. de Bel. Jud. i. 3.

frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of the Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of his illness, to alienate the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem, after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself, and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in the highest grief and despair.

SECTION II.

REIGN OF ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS.

SALOME, the wife of Aristobulus *, immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a

* A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.

private person *, he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner, 42 years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this passed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra, and Alexander the youngest of her sons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldest in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a good army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated on the other side of the Jordan; but not being sufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and lost 10,000 men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it; for, from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander; and, as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

† This loss, great as it was, did not prevent his going to seize Raphia and Anthedon, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus. Those two posts, that were only a few miles from Gaza, keep it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza, for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of Jordan, and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

‡ As soon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege the city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence

* Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 8. † A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100.
‡ A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98.

that acquired him great reputation. * His own brother Lysimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as bad as himself, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he gave his soldiers permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear; for the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

Some time after the people affronted him in the most heinous manner†. At the feast of the tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering a solemn sacrifice in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of slave; a reproach which sufficiently argued that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazar had presumed to advance, that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of 6000 of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of 6000 men, that attended him every where.

‡ When Alexander saw the storm which had rose against him a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. At his return to Jerusalem ||, the Jews, incensed at his defeat, revolted against him.

* A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.
† A. M. 3909. Ant C. 95. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21.
‡ A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. || A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his loss, that they should find no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

Alexander having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up *, carried 800 of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day. When they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than 50,000 men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, that brought a quartan ague upon him †, of which he died at three years end, after having reigned 27.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

SECTION III.

REIGN OF ALEXANDRA, THE WIFE OF ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, WHICH CONTINUED NINE YEARS.

ACCORDING to the advice of her husband ‡ Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the pharisees, declaring to them that in doing so she only conformed to the last will of her husband.

By this step she gained so much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they carried it during his life

* A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86. † A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 25.
‡ A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. et de bell. Jud. i. 4.

as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into a respect and veneration for his memory; and instead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour, and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the pharisees stood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest: he was then near 30 years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one; and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less, by way of precaution against a greater evil.

What we have said upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right sense of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

The pharisees always continued their persecutions* against those who had opposed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the faults and cruelties with which

*. A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24. et de bell. Jud. 1, 4.

they had thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage among such as still survived.

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles: that it was very hard at present, under her government, that every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and to see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of inquiries, or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to their seeking an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them; but it was out of her power to do for them all she desired, for she had given herself masters, by engaging to act in nothing without the consent of the pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice, to suspend the inquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer; and that therefore they would never come into it. On the other side, the queen believed, that she ought not to give her consent that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into the places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their arms in their hands: and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

Some years after, queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dan-

gerous distemper, which brought her to the point of death*. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received in them with open arms, and in 15 days time 22 of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people, as well as the army, were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the pharisees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all sides to follow the standard of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect: besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the pharisees saw that Aristobulus' party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle with such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However, she appointed Hyrcanus her heir-general, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they caused his wife and children whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of † Baris as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jerichodecided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of the troops who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris: his partisans took refuge in the temple. Some time after, they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

* A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

† Baris was a castle situated upon a high rock without the works of the temple, which were upon the same rock

SECTION IV.

REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS II. WHICH CONTINUED SIX YEARS.

It was agreed by the accommodation, * that Aristobulus should have the crown and high priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortune. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this: for he loved quiet and ease above all things, and quitted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the ascendant of Hyrcanus their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour when he should succeed to the crown†. But when he saw all his measures broke by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his secret negociations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria‡. He there took cognisance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to demand that they should be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They represented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings; that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who, without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them

* A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. de Bell. Jud. 1—5.

† A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. et de bell. jud. 1—5.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id. de bel. Jud. 1—5.

from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth-right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land; and, to confirm what he alleged against him, he produced almost 1000 Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly, to support by their testimony, what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, that Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity; that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the public affairs; that the people despised him; and that he (Aristobulus) had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers: in fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him; and in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendour and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanour, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore dismissed the two brothers respectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affairs, and make the necessary disposition in all things.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly from Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, armed his subjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra, his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at

first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprised till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely strong built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply; but he at last gave into the opinion of those about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so; and after a conversation, which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour; but for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence in case Pompey should declare against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put all them into his hands by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been done him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolution to keep the crown made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the

money; but when that lieutenant general arrived at Jerusalem he found the gates shut against him, and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation, and the work which had been made; and had it not been divided within doors against itself, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place, especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner; but the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general; and as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple stood, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley, which surrounded it to be broke down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three months entire, and would have done so three months more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprise, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the sabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the sabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which so great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than 12,000 persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and disorder, of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with surprising unconcern, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they offered, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty: happy, and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit as the letter of it.

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, to enter the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the Sanctum

Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-priest was permitted to enter once a-year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that consisted principally in sums which had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to 2000 talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable and of infinite value. It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the god adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

It hath been observed that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity his good fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last victory.

SECTION V.

REIGN OF HYRCANUS II. WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY-FOUR YEARS.

POMPEY*, having put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

‡ Hyrcanus finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high-

* A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63. † A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57

priest-hood. He made great alterations in the civil government; for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but those innovations were but of short duration.

Crassus upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopped at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of 10,000 talents, that is to say, about 1,500,000*l.* sterling.

Cæsar, after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinius was abolished, and the government of Judæa re-established upon the ancient foot.

Antipater caused the government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasæl his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.

Cæsar, at Hyrcanus's request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus, son of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasæl, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them, and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered to seize him also.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country,

placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasæl in chains into his hands. Phasæl, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off: for, according to the levitical law, it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the east, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Antony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected; for instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for Aristobulus*, whose sister Mariamne he had lately married, with the view of only governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Antony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases; for it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negociating this great affair, and returned speedily to Judæa. He employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

* Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

END OF VOLUME SEVENTH

EDITOR'S ADDRESS TO HIS PATRONS AND CHRISTIAN BRETHREN.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

FOR the liberal patronage which you have given to the former num bers of his annual publication of this sort, the Editor offers you hi grateful acknowledgments, and respectfully requests its continuation.

He indulges the hope that his *sixth* number will not be considered a nferior to either of its predecessors.

It has hitherto been his object to promote spiritual husbandry, rathe than that which is natural—to excite attention to the times and season which have an aspect on the kingdom of grace, rather than those whicl relate to the kingdom of nature; and to stimulate his readers to the ac quisition of durable riches rather than those which "take to themselve wings and fly away." Nor has he lost sight of this object in his presen number. That its design may be carried into effect, is his heart's desir and prayer to God.

In the present tumultuary and portentous state of things in the civi and religious world, and particularly in his own country, he cannot bu feel much anxiety "from fear, and from looking after those things whicl are coming on the earth;" and particularly on this portion of it. Coulc he in any measure be instrumental of removing present evils, and o preventing those which threaten to visit us, great would be his satis faction.

With the view to effect this, he respectfully solicits his patrons, and all who may read this address, seriously to consider and practically re gard the seasonable and very important advice of the town clerk of Ephesus to a tumultuous assembly in that celebrated city, "to do noth ing *rashly*."—Agreeably with this advice he will venture, with the hope of doing good, to suggest a few cautions.

Beware of *rash jealousies*.—"Jealousy is cruel as the grave," and when it is rash, it is as unjust as it is cruel. "It separateth chiefest friends"—destroys individual peace, the peace of families, neighborhoods, towns and more extensive communities. Rash jealousy is a "deadly poison." How baleful are its effects! Watch and pray, therefore, that ye be not led into temptation to this evil.

Beware of *rash prejudices*—as they respect men and measures, politicks and religion. Such prejudices jaundice the eye, close the ear, darken the understanding, pervert the best affections of the heart, and excite to deeds the most unworthy and degrading. Guard then against these prejudices, as against the plague, or the attack of a subtle and deadly foe.

Beware of *rash conjectures*. The spirit in man "lusteth" as well to rash conjecture, as "to envy." Such conjecture respecting persons and things, leads to significant and injurious hints, to evil and slanderous speaking, and to "wounding and deadly deeds." Incalculable are the evils which often spring from this pernicious source. A word to the wise on this subject, it is hoped will be sufficient.

Beware of *rash zeal*. "It is good to be zealously affected in a good thing" But zeal without knowledge—zeal which is hasty and intem perate, whether its object be politicks, religion, or any other subject impels to deeds the most irrational, unjustifiable, extravagant and cruel This zeal is "a great and strong wind, an earthquake and a fire." But the Lord, the spirit of the Lord is in none of these. Beware then o

rash, boisterous and fiery zeal. Listen to the *still small voice* of reason, and let "your moderation be known to all men."

Beware of *rashly subscribing to party creeds, party combinations, and party measures.* As these things generally originate from selfishness, pride, and the worst of passions—as their design is generally, to say the least, suspicious; and as their consequences are but too frequently unpleasant and evil, is it not the part of prudence and of duty, to have nothing to do with them?

Beware of *rash enterprises.* How many have laid a foundation for the most pungent regret—for bitter and unavailing sorrow, from neglecting to sit down and count the cost, previously to entering on important pursuits! By inconsiderately rushing into the "whirl of untried business," how many have ruined their reputation, sacrificed their property, and involved others in the labyrinth of inextricable perplexity, distress and ruin! Take diligent heed then to your steps—proceed with caution—do nothing rashly.

If *heretofore* we have done any of these evil things, let us resolve to do so no more. Let us be men of thought and sober reflection.—It is an observation among the Jews, that Adam, taught by the experience of his rash and hasty fall, used to say, "a man would never do amiss, if he saw *from the beginning to the end.*" Of the truth of this anecdote I shall not avouch. Another, I will take the liberty to state, the truth of which is not to be questioned. It was the admonition of an eminently judicious man, when he would check an inconsiderate and hasty neighbour—"Pray *stay a little*, and we shall have *done the sooner.*"

Men and Brethren, let us consider these things well, and let them duly affect our minds and influence our conduct. THE EDITOR.

MASSACHUSETTS—1813.

COLLEGE VACATIONS FOR 1814.

Harvard College.—From Commencement, four weeks.—From the fourth Wednesday in December, seven weeks.—From the third Wednesday in May, two weeks.—These three are the only vacations as established in March, 1802.

Yale College—From Commencement, six weeks.—From the last Wedn. in December, three weeks.—From the first Wedn. in May, three weeks.

Burlington College.—From Commencement, four weeks.—From Wednesday nearest the 15th of December, six weeks.—From Wednesday nearest 28th April, two weeks.

Dartmouth College—From Commencement, four and an half weeks.—From the first Monday in January, eight and an half weeks.—These are the only vacations as established in 1798.

Providence College.—From Commencement, three weeks.—From the last Wednesday in December, eight weeks.—From the first Wednesday in May, two weeks.

Williamstown College.—From Commencement, five weeks.—From the third Wednesday in January, three weeks.—From the first Wednesday in May, three weeks.

Middlebury College.—From Commencement, three weeks.—From the first Wednesday in Jan. six weeks.—From the first Wedn. in May, three weeks.

Bowdoin College.—From Commencement 4 weeks—1st Wednesday in January, 6 weeks—3d Wednesday in May, 3 weeks.

Divinity College.—From the annual visitation, the last Wednesday in September, 6 weeks—1st Wednesday in April, 6 weeks.

When tir'd with studies I shake off my care,
Quit close confinement—breathe the purest air,
On k—g oak's height, and view with longing eyes,
The growing prospect open as I rise,
Here hills and vales—there woods, sea, streams survey;
Gilt with new beauties by the solar ray;—

Full Moon 6th day 2h. 38m. morn. | New Moon 21st day 9h. 33m. morn.
Last Quarter 13 day 4h. 23m. morn. | First Quarter 28 day 9h. 42m. morn.

M.	W.	*Courts, Aspects, Weather, &c*	r. ☉ s.	F	ea.	☽ s pl.	r. ☉ s.
1	7	Circum Bull's eye so. 9h. 40m.	7 32 5	7	3	neck	1 25
2	B	Ld's day ⊕ Per. h. *Expect sn w*	7 31 5	7	51		2 34
3	2	C. P. Len. & Alfred. ☿ gr. elong	7 30 5	8	40	arms	3 40
4	3	C. S Bos. & Camb. High tides	7 30 5	9	39		4 55
5	4	Sir I. Newton bo. 1642 ● per	7 30 5	10	39	breast	6 7
6	5	Epiph. ☿ ☉ □ *Cold and*	7 29 5	11	48		ri es
7	6	7*'s sou. 8h 13m. *probably*	7 28 5	morn		heart	6 27
8	7	☉ slow cl 8m *windy*	7 28 5	1	3		7 32
9	B	Ld's day V. M. born A. M. 3985	7 27 5	1	58	belly	8 40
10	2	C. P. Warren & Northam. *A*	7 27 5	2	50		9 46
11	3	✶ ☿ ♀ *severe storm of rain*	7 26 5	3	38	reins	10 47
12	4	♀ sets 9h 36m. *or snow*	7 25 5	4	24		11 50
13	5	*may now be expected*	7 25 5	☽	8	secrets	morn.
14	6	Peace ratified by Congress 84	7 24 5	5	52		55
15	7		7 23 5	6	34	thighs	2 3
16	B	Lord's day	7 22 5	7	19		3 8
17	2	Dr. Franklin born 1706 *More*	7 21 5	8	3	knees	4 11
18	3	*pleasant*	7 20 5	8	51		5 8
19	4	● apo.	7 20 5	9	37		5 58
20	5	☉ ent ♒ 10h morn.	7 19 5	10	27	legs	6 36
21	6	Louis xvi beh. '93 ☉ ecl.	7 18 5	11	15		set's
22	7	☉ ● ♓ ♂ 4h. morn. *Snow,*	7 17 5		3	feet	5 37
23	B	Ld's day, Septuagessima *pro-*	7 16 5		44		6 29
24	2	*bably accompanied with rain*	7 15 5	1	40	head	7 40
25	3	Conver. St. Paul. *or hail*	7 14 5	2	26		8 43
26	4		7 13 5	3	14	neck	9 46
27	5		7 12 5	4	2		10 51
28	6	7*'s sou. 6h. 20m. Peter the g't	7 11 5	4	51	arms	11 57
29	7	♓ ♌ 1° [died 1725	7 10 5	5	41		morn.
30	B	Lord's day, Charles I. behead-	7 9 5	6	35		1 2
31	2	ed 1649, aged 49	7 8 5	7	32	breast	2 11

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